



KAJRI

DANCE AND MUSIC OF THE RAINY SEASON IN HINDUSTHAN.

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore.





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## HOPE

I can never believe that you are lost to us, my King,  
 though our poverty is great and deep our shame.  
 Your will works behind the veil of despair,  
 and in your own time opens the gate of the impossible.  
 You come like unto your own house in the unprepared hall  
 and on the unexpected day.  
 Dark ruins at your touch become like a bud  
 in whose bosom grows unseen the flower of fulfilment.  
 Therefore I still have hope, not that the wrecks will be mended,  
 but a new world will arise.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

## THE DOWNFALL OF BIJAPUR, 1686

## CITY OF BIJAPUR DESCRIBED.

AS the traveller enters the Bijapur district from its northern boundary near Sholapur, he passes through a vast desolate plain, absolutely treeless, uncultivated and untenanted by man as far as the eye can see. For forty miles this stretch of country is a monotonous succession of low wavy uplands which grow a crop of millet during the three months of rain but are covered with dry dust-coloured grass or expose large patches of black trap-rock for the rest of the year. Hidden deep among the uplands are the beds of some streams, with a few trees and hamlets and patches of cultivation, forming a pleasing oasis in the surrounding desert. The landscape is extremely depressing by reason of its barrenness and dreary by reason of its monotony; even the villages look deserted on account of their ruined battlements and houses with flat mud roofs and blind walls all around.

Half way across this plain the southern horizon is seen to be pierced by a gigantic

faint white bubble,—the largest dome in the world, standing 300 feet above the ground, which dominates the entire landscape. It is the *Gol Gumbaz* or tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah. Coming nearer, as the railway climbs up from a dip in the ground, Bijapur suddenly bursts into view like a dream city, with its strange mingling of beauty and melancholy, its sadly impressive grandeur derived from palace and tomb. "Far on every side the country is covered with buildings of varied shapes in different stages of decay. A number of tombs, mosques, palaces and towers lie scattered in every direction. To the right (i.e., north-west of the city), the white domes of Pir Amin's tomb gleam in the sunlight, a brilliant contrast to the dark gray ruins in the foreground. In front lie the city's massive walls and bastions, with here and there a stately building towering over the fortifications, while on the left the colossal proportions of the *Gol Gumbaz* dwarf its surroundings. Still further to the left (i.e., north-east of the city) the plain outside is dotted with



tombs, among which is conspicuous the massive dark gray mausoleum of Ain-ul-mulk. (*Bomb. Gaz.* XXIII.)

The city walls enclose  $2\frac{1}{2}$  square miles of land, forming an ellipse. After crossing the deep moat, 40 to 50 feet broad, we meet the massive and strong walls, varying in height from 30 to 50 feet, with an average thickness of 20 feet and strengthened with 96 bastions besides ten at the gates. The broad masonry platform, which constitutes the top of the walls all around the fort, was protected inside by a battlemented curtain wall ten feet high running from bastion to bastion and loopholed for artillery and small arms. The strongest bastions are three, namely the Lion Tower (*Sharzi Burj*) on the west, built in 1658, and containing the famous cannon *Malik-i-Maidan*; the *Landa Kasab Burj* in the south wall, completed in 1662, and armed with the largest gun at Bijapur; and the *Firangi Burj*, built by a Portuguese general in 1576 with extreme durability and massiveness. Aurangzib seems to have let the *Sharzi Burj* alone and directed the whole fire of his artillery against the *Landa Kasab* tower, pitted it with shot-marks, and breached the curtain wall close by. Between this tower and the *Firangi Burj* is the Mangali gate, renamed *Fath Darwaza* after Aurangzib's victorious entrance into the city through it. In the plain outside, some distance south of this gate, stands the tomb of Ikhlas Khan, a convenient advanced post for the besiegers, which changed hands repeatedly during the siege, as its battered condition graphically tells the visitor to this day. As for the five large gateways in the city wall, they were impregnable with the siege appliances known in the 17th century and Aurangzib wisely made no attempt to force them.

In the heart of the city there is an inner fortification, called the *qila ark* or citadel, forming a circle about a mile in circumference and "a perfect treasury of artistic buildings. Its defences are a strong curtain, with, on the south and east, several bastions of considerable strength, a *fausse braye* or rampart mound and ditch, the whole well-built and massive. The *fausse braye* is very wide, especially on the north and north-west, where a second wet ditch was cut at the foot of the rampart, which on these sides was very low." But "the site of the citadel is unfavourable. It is

almost the lowest part of the city and is commanded by the rising ground on the north-west, on which is built the *Upri Burj*. It seems unlikely that such a citadel could have ever stood for any time against an enemy armed with artillery who had forced the city fortifications." But all the royal palaces and public offices of the Adil Shahs were situated within this inner enclosure. (*Bomb. Gaz.* XXIII.)

#### BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE.

The Mughals began their siege operations on 1st April, 1685, when Ruhullah Khan and Qasim Khan opened trenches on the Shahpur or N. W. side, half a mile from the fort-wall, with a large tank in their rear, while Khan-i-Jahan ran his approaches near Zuhrapur or Rasulpur in the west, a mile from the wall, enjoying the shelter of his large suburb. The supporting army of Prince Azam was posted far in the rear, on the bank of the Bhima,\* where the Bijapuris under Sharza attacked it early in April, but were routed with heavy loss.

The Emperor felt it necessary to go nearer to the scene of war. On 26th April he left Ahmadnagar and on 24th May reached Sholapur, which continued as his headquarters till next year. But at first the Mughal operations were languidly carried on; of the two generals of the siege army, Khan-i-Jahan was sent off to Indi, to watch the road from Haidarabad, on 29th May, and Ruhullah Khan to Ahmadnagar early in July. Prince Azam arrived with a large army on 14th June and took over the supreme command, halting at the Begam Hauz, due south of the city. A fortnight later he came nearer the fort and began to advance his trenches, run mines and raise batteries.

The Mughals were proverbially slow and clumsy in taking forts by siege. The soil round Bijapur was, in addition, extremely hard; only a foot or two below the surface one strikes solid rock. (*B. S.* 452.) The Mughal advance was, therefore, extremely slow and laborious. And the garrison gave them no rest. Following the time-honoured Deccani plan of war, Adil shah kept 30,000 men in the fort for resisting the besiegers, while another and equally large army was sent out to cut the Mughal communications

\* *M.A.* 256, gives "Tungbhadra" which is impossible. - I suggest the *Bhima*.



and raid the imperial territory. For more than a year after its commencement, the siege of Bijapur was in no sense an investment. The Mughals simply made lodgements in the suburbs at two points and tried to batter down or undermine the wall opposite. It was beyond their power to hem the fort round and prevent all ingress and egress. The garrison sallied out whenever they liked, and attacked the siege trenches, while reinforcements and provisions freely entered the fort from outside.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF THE BESIEGERS.

Allies began to flock to Adil Shah in his distress. On 10th June Siddi Masaud's contingent arrived in response to a pathetic appeal written by Sikandar on 18th April. Next, a Golkonda force, under Ambaji Pandit, arrived on 14th August, and finally on 10th December a second army from Shambhuji under Hambir Rao. But the last corps was sent away a few days afterwards to create a useful diversion by ravaging the Mughal dominions,—a task more congenial to the Maratha spirit and military capacity.

In the meantime the Mughal cause had been further weakened by an open rupture with Golkonda, which Aurangzib with all his efforts could not avert. Before beginning the siege of Bijapur, he had warned Qutb Shah not to help Sikandar in any way, if he cared for his own throne. (*J.B.S.* 448.) As early as July 1684, Sikandar had appealed to Abul Hassan for a defensive alliance, and four months later his envoy had returned from Golkonda after winning over the prime minister Madanna Pandit to the wise policy of all the Deccani Powers standing side by side against the spoiler from the North. Qutb Shah's chivalry was also touched by the distress of a brother king who was a mere lad of sixteen.

Arrived at Sholapur, Aurangzib had sent a small force under Bahramand Khan to watch the Golkonda side, (24th May, 1685.) He soon intercepted a letter from Qutb Shah to his agents at the Mughal court, promising to send 40,000 men to the help of Sikandar and urging Shambhuji to do the same. This new situation had to be met at once, and, therefore, on 28th June Shah Alam was sent with a large army to invade Haidarabad, though the Emperor knew that "this dispersion of

forces was sure to cause delay and obstruction to the enterprise against Bijapur." Khan-i-Jahan who was holding the outpost of Indi, 30 miles N. E. of Bijapur, to guard the route of supplies for the investing army of Azam, was ordered to join Shah Alam. (*M. A.* 259-261).

Prince Azam had reached the neighbourhood of Bijapur (29th June, 1685) and infused more vigour into the siege; but the garrison were no less active. In less than a month he had to fight three severe battles with them. On 1st July his trenches were assailed by Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan, and several Mughal officers were wounded and slain, while the explosion\* of the Prince's powder-magazine destroyed 500 foot-musketeers. (*M.A.* 262; *B.S.* 450.) Next day the Deccanis fell on the supplies coming to the siege camp and evidently cut it off. On 25th July a Mughal foraging party was attacked with heavy loss near Mangali, 16 miles south of the city.

#### FAMINE.

Nor were the Bijapuris the only enemy that Azam had to face. A famine broke out in his camp; the oft-ravaged neighbourhood of Bijapur could yield no food supply, the roads from the north were closed by the activity of the Marathas and the flooded streams, as the rainy season had now set in. "Grain sold at Rs. 15 a *seer*, and that too in small quantities." (*Dil.* 198.) The hungry soldiers ate up their draught cattle and camels, and then began to pine away through lack of food and sleep, because they had to be ever on the alert to repel the daily sorties of the garrison and the attacks of the Bijapuri field army roving in the open. "No food came from any side. The soldiers were greatly weakened and many of them died." (*B.S.* 450; *M.A.* 263).

For lack of men the Mughal outpost at Indi, midway between Sholapur and Bijapur, had been withdrawn, and thus the road from the base to the siege camp was closed. (*Dil.* 198; *M.A.* 266.) Aurangzib saw no other means of saving his son than by ordering him to retire from Bijapur with his army. The Prince held a council of war, and told his chief officer,

\* *Dilkasha*, 201, says that the explosion took place after Aurangzib's arrival at Bijapur, and that the sound of it was heard distinctly at Naldurg, 38 kos off.



Ali Khan, "The work of the campaign depends upon the co-operation of my officers. I have received this order from the Emperor. Your advice on the question of war or peace, haste or delay, is a weighty thing. What is your opinion in the present case?" They all voted for a retreat. But the Prince's spirit had been roused; he would not reduce himself to the level of his rival Shah Alam, who had recently come back from the Konkan covered with dismal failure. Turning to his officers, Azam exclaimed, "You have spoken for yourselves. Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begam will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." Then the council of war cried out with one voice, "Our opinion is the same as your Highness's!" (M.A. 263-264).

#### MUGHALS REINFORCED.

When this Spartan resolution of his son was reported to Aurangzib, he at once took steps to send relief. All the grain-dealers in his camp with their 5,000 pack-oxen were despatched to convey food, some treasure loaded on many hundred spare remounts, and much munition. A strong escort under Ghazi-uddin Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang, left the imperial camp with the party on 4th October, 1685, and fought its way to the famished army. Sharza Khan at the head of 8000 cavalry, barred their path at Indi,<sup>\*</sup> and during the encounter a detachment of Deccani horse made a swoop and carried off 500 oxen with their loads, from the centre of the Mughal host. But finally the enemy were repulsed, though with the loss of some imperial officers.

The arrival of Firuz Jang "turned scarcity into plenty in the Mughal camp, and the famished soldiers revived." His next success was the cutting off of a force of 6000 Bedar infantry, each man carrying a bag of provisions on his head, which Pid Navak tried to smuggle into the fort at night. Firuz Jang, informed of the position of these men by his spies, "fell on them before daybreak and not one of them

escaped the Mughal sword." The outpost of Indi was re-established in the middle of October and communication between Bijapur and Sholapur was made secure again (M.A. 265-6).

The outlook now brightened for the imperialists in other quarters too. Early in October, Haidarabad, the capital of Qutb Shah, was entered by Shah Alam unopposed, and its ruler was driven to shut himself up in Golkonda. Many of his officers deserted to Shah Alam, and the King wrote to Aurangzib offering submission. The Mughal control over the Qutb Shahi State was confirmed in March, 1686, when the prime minister Madanna Pandit—who had pursued a policy of alliance with Bijapur and the Marathas,—was murdered. On 7th June Shah Alam rejoined his father, bringing tribute from Golkonda.

#### AURANGZIB GOES TO THE SIEGE.

By this time the siege of Bijapur had dragged on for 15 months with no decisive result. On 2nd November 1685 the Mughals had captured an elevated gun-platform near Bijapur and seem to have drawn their lines closer round the city. (*Ishwardas*, 98a.) But discord and mutual jealousy broke out among their commanders. The Bijapuris, undismayed by the immense superiority of the Mughal armaments and the confusion and faction fights in their own government, continued to offer a stubborn opposition, destroying the Mughal trenches and driving them back from the walls. (*B.S.* 450.) The Emperor realised that unless he took the command in person, the fort would not fall. As he told a holy Shaikh of Sarhind, "I had hoped that one of my sons would take the fort; but it is not to be. So, I want to go there myself and see what kind of barrier is this Bijapur that it has not been forced so long." (M.A. 276.) On 14th June 1686 he left Sholapur and on 3rd July reached Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort. Orders were at once issued to press the siege vigorously. "He ordered Firuz Jang and the Chief of Artillery to work even harder at night than in the day and advance the trenches. The circumference of the fort was divided into sections and distributed among his generals for investment." (*B.S.* 451.) Working under their master's eyes the sappers carried the galleries to the edge of the moat in a

\* K. K. ii. 317 gives a graphic account of this battle: *Ishwardas* 97b. *Dil.* 199 says that it was fought at Nagthan. M.A. 264-5.



short time and the city was completely beleaguered. But even then it took him 70 days more to capture it.

The Emperor had brought Shah Alam from Sholapur, and with Shah Alam he had imported the chronic rivalry of his sons into the siege. This Prince, now the eldest, commanded the sector opposite the north-western or Shahpur gate and wanted to steal a march over his brother Azam, the general in charge of the siege. During his long viceroyalty of the Deccan, Shah Alam had always been friendly to the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, and he now opened a correspondence with Sikandar Adil Shah and his officers to effect the peaceful surrender of the fort and thus rob Azam of the credit of being called the captor of Bijapur. One of his confidential officers, Shah Quli, even used to enter the fort in secret to negotiate with the garrison, while Syed Alam, the agent of Sikandar, used to visit the Prince in return. "It was impossible for these intrigues to remain a secret, with a jealous rival like Azam Shah watching close at hand. The drunken ruffian and babbler Shah Quli, when visiting the trenches to change the guards, used to shout to the Bijapuris on the wall, 'These are your friends. Take care not to shoot your muskets artillery and stones this way.' The matter became the talk of the camp and reached the ears of Muhammad Azam Shah and of the Emperor." (K.K. ii. 320-321.) Shah Quli was arrested and put to torture and betrayed the whole plot and the names of his accomplices among the Prince's servants. Shah Alam was censured, but he disavowed Shah Quli. Some of the officers incriminated were thrown into prison and the others were expelled from the camp,\* (28th Aug.) and the Emperor's heart grew bitter against his eldest surviving son. (M.A. 293; Ishwardas, 100b-101a.)

#### SUFFERINGS OF THE BESIEGED.

The result of this silly backdoor diplomacy was to "throw the Bijapur enterprise into confusion." The sufferings of the besiegers were aggravated by a scarcity† which was raging in the Deccan on

account of the failure of rain that year. (K.K. ii. 317.) But the sufferings of the besieged were ten times worse. The Mughals could now draw their supplies from all parts of India, the Bijapuris had to depend solely on their sterile neighbourhood. As the lines of investment were drawn closer round the city, the supply failed altogether. "Countless men and horses died within the fort", and from lack of horses the Deccanis could not follow their favourite tactics of hovering round the enemy and cutting off stragglers and transport. (K.K. ii. 322; *Dil.* 202.)

In the extremity of the siege, a deputation of Muslim theologians issued from the city and waited upon Aurangzib in his camp, pleading, "You are an orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the *Quran* and the decrees of theologians. Tell us, how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzib was ready with his reply, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infernal infidel (meaning Shambhuji) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." (B.S. 453.) The scholars were reduced to silence.

Shortly after Aurangzib's arrival the sap had been carried to the edge of the moat, but the filling up of the ditch seemed an impossible task. "From the fort walls the artillery struck down whosoever reached the edge of the ditch. None durst show his head. For three months the broad and deep moat remained unfilled. Then it was proclaimed that every man throwing a basket of earth into the moat would get four annas for it. But when many of the men were struck down the labourers gave up the work. Then one Rupee and finally one gold coin was given as reward for throwing one basket of clay. The work was now done incessantly. Every man or beast that died was dragged and flung into the ditch. Nay more, some godless work-people, inspired by greed, threw

\* M.A. 293 says that some of these secret couriers were executed.

† Ishwardas draws a lurid picture of the famine of grain and fodder in the Mughal camp and the consequent epidemic of fever and flux. But the official

history and *Dilkasha* (whose author was present in the camp by deputy) are silent about it. I fear that Ishwardas has transferred to the siege of Bijapur what happened at the siege of Golkonda.



living men and women into the ditch and took away their money! By dint of hard exertion many of the trenches were carried to the moat and it was almost filled up." (Ishwardas, 101*b*.)

When this stage was reached, Aurangzib on 4th September advanced his tent from two miles in the rear to a place immediately behind the trenches. Thither he rode fully armed, by a covered lane, and received the salute of the investing officers. Next he rode to the edge of the moat to inspect the battery raised to command the fort bastion and to learn for himself why the conquest was delayed. The Mughal troops, inspired by the Emperor's presence and words, attempted an assault on the wall opposite. But it failed. The Bijapuris fired briskly at him and his *cortege*, inflicting much loss. (Ishwardas, 102*a*; B.S. 452; M.A. 278.)

#### THE FALL OF THE LAST ADIL SHAH.

Bijapur fell a week after this date, but not to assault. At these proofs of the grim determination of Aurangzib and the completeness of his preparations, the garrison lost heart. The cause of the Adil Shahi monarchy was hopeless: the king was a plaything in the hands of selfish nobles, the administration could not possibly be reformed, the dynasty could not be restored to real power and prosperity, and all hope of help from outside was gone. The future was absolutely dark. For what master and with what prospects would the Bijapuri generals continue their resistance to the bitter end? Even to Sikandar Adil Shah himself it was hardly a change for the worse to pass from being the puppet of his "mayors of the palace" to become the pensioner of Aurangzib.

So judging, Sikandar and his officers decided on capitulation, as the only means of preventing useless bloodshed. (B.S. 452.) The garrison had by this time been reduced to 2000 men. (Dil. 203.) In the night of 9th September the secretaries of the two Bijapuri leaders, Nawab Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan, waited on Firuz Jang and discussed terms. Next night their masters themselves visited the Mughal general and agreed on behalf of Sikandar to yield the fort. On the 11th they repeated the visit and were introduced to Aurangzib who received them with favour.

Sunday, 12th September, 1686, saw the

downfall of the Bijapur monarchy. Amidst the tears and lamentations of her subjects who lined the streets, Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahi sultans, gave up his ancestors' throne and issued from the capital of his house, at one o'clock in the afternoon, in charge of Rao Dalpat Bundela and some other imperial officers whom Firuz Jang had sent into the fort. The fallen monarch cast a last look at the royal city, henceforth to be widowed of her lord, and passed out of the Shahi gate (of the citadel) towards Aurangzib's camp in Rasulpur. As soon as he came in sight, the imperial band struck up the music of triumph proclaiming far and wide the crowning success of Mughal arms. Firuz Jang with many other nobles of high rank advanced to the gate to welcome the captive and lead him to the Emperor.

Meantime the large tent which served as the Hall of Public Audience in Aurangzib's camp, had been richly decorated for this historic scene. "All the high grandees and *mansabdars*, great and small, had by order come fully armed to the Hall and each taken his stand at his proper place. Bahramand Khan, the superintendent of the Private Audience Chamber, marshalled the ranks and regulated the ceremony." (Ishwar, 104*a*.) When Sikandar arrived at the door of the tent, the Chief Paymaster, Ruhullah Khan, with a train of high officers, welcomed him and ushered him into the Presence. The fallen monarch made his bow at the foot of the conqueror's throne. His extreme beauty and combined grace of youth and royalty excited universal admiration and pity for his fate. Even Aurangzib was touched: he spoke soothingly to Sikandar, "God's grace be on you! You have acted wisely and chosen your own good. I shall exalt you with many favours and gifts. Be composed in mind." Then he seated Sikandar on his right hand, close to his grandson Muizuddin and presented him with a gorgeous robe of honour, a dagger set with jewels, worth Rs. 7000, a pearl necklace with an emerald pendant, worth Rs. 13,000, a jewelled crest (*kalgī*), and a costly mace. The deposed sultan was enrolled among the Mughal peers with the title of *Khan* (lord) and a pension of one *lakh* of Rupees a year was settled on him. The Princes and nobles present shouted their congratulations and made the customary presents to the Emperor.



After the vesper prayer, Sikandar was given leave to retire and was conducted to the tents erected for him and his family within the enclosure of the imperial residence. All the Bijapuri officers were taken over into Mughal service, their chiefs, Abdur Rauf and Sharza Khan, were created 6-hazaris with the titles of Dilir Khan and Rustam Khan respectively. Imperial officers took possession of Bijapur and attached Sikandar's property.

#### AURANGZIB ENTERS BIJAPUR.

A week afterwards, Aurangzib's tent was removed from Rasulpur to a tank a mile outside the Alapur gate. That day (19th September) the victor, seated on a portable throne, rode into the fort by way of the trenches of Saf Shikan Khan and the southern or Mangali gate, which had once been chosen for the assault. Along the roads of the city he marched, scattering handfuls of gold and silver coins right and left, and viewed the fort walls and bastions and the palaces within the citadel. Then he went to the Jama Masjid and rendered two-fold prayers to God for His favours. In Sikandar's palace he rested for some hours and received congratulatory offerings from his courtiers. All paintings on the wall drawn in violation of the Quranic law that man should not presumptuously vie with his Creator by depicting living beings, were ordered to be erased, and an inscription recording Aurangzib's victory was placed on the famous cannon *Malik-i-maidan*. In the evening the Emperor returned to his camp amidst a salvo of artillery. The Mangali gate was repaired and newly named the Gate of Victory (*Fath Darwaza*).

#### BIJAPUR IN RUIN.

Complete desolation settled on the city of Bijapur after the fall of its independent dynasty. From a royal capital it became the seat of a provincial governor. The revenue of a kingdom was no longer spent on it; there was no resident royalty or nobility to foster the fine arts, no court to maintain a vast crowd of idle but cultured dependents. Two years after its conquest, a terrible plague swept away more than half its population. A few years later, Bhimsen noticed how the city and its equally large suburb Nauraspur looked deserted and ruined; the population was scattered, and even the abundant water

supply in the city wells had suddenly grown scanty! (*Dil*. 203; *M.A.* 310.) Bijapur had formerly been a city of splendid sepulchres; and it henceforth continued as a dismal example of departed greatness,—a vast city covered with long lines of fallen houses, ruined mansions and lonely patches of jungle, stretching far and near in a waste whose desolation glimpses of noble buildings, some fairly preserved, others in ruins, make the more striking." Half its interior is a dreary waste, with almost nothing save fallen palaces and roofless dwellings overgrown with custard apple and other wild shrubs, while an occasional unharmed tomb or mosque makes the surrounding desolation the more complete." "Mournful as is the desolation, the picturesque beauty of the buildings, the fine old trees and the mixing of hoary ruins and perfect buildings form an ever changing and impressive scene." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii, 568, 573.) Above the whole scene the lofty domes of many kingly tombs brood in silent but winkless reverie upon the buried royalty and departed greatness of a city that was the queen of Southern India for a century.

#### DEATH OF SIKANDAR ADIL SHAH.

We may here conveniently follow the last Adil Shahi Sultan to his grave. After being carried about in the Emperor's train for some time, and begging in vain for the trans-Krishna district of his late kingdom to be given to him as a fief, he was lodged in the state-prison of Daulatabad. Here is a few small apartments almost overhanging the steep bare side of the hill, he sighed out many years of his life in the company of a brother in misery, Abul Hassan, the deposed sultan of Golkonda. Later he was carried about with the camp of Aurangzib, a captive within the limits of the *gulalbar* tents, in the keeping of Hamiduddin Khan Bahadur. In this condition he died on 3rd April, 1700, at the foot of Satara Fort, which Aurangzib was then besieging. (*Akhbarat*, 44/52.) He had not even completed 32 years. Having ascended the throne when a boy of four only, he had passed 14 years as an impotent puppet in the hands of his ministers and another fourteen years as Aurangzib's prisoner.\* (*B.S.* 453.)

\* *B.S.*, 455, tells a story that Aurangzib murdered Sikandar by means of a poisoned melon, in order



According to Sikandar's dying wish, his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and buried at the foot of the sepulchre of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Fahimullah, in a roofless enclosure. As the bier of the last of the Adil Shahis entered the capital of his fathers, the whole city went into mourning; "thousands of women wept, broke their bracelets and performed such

to deprive the old Adil Shahi officers the plea of that they had a master other than Aurangzib. The story has a Manuccian ring, and finds a place in *Storia do Mogor*, iii, 195. The author of *B.S.* qualifies his statement by uttering the pious cry, "The burden of the proof lies on the original narrator!"

other ceremonies as if they had been widowed." (*B.S.* 455.)

And well they might do so. True, their king had been deposed fourteen years ago, and during his whole reign he had never governed by his own will. But under him they had at least had a king of their own; they had formed a nation and an independent State, instead of being a mere province of an alien empire, ruled by a mere officer who had to take his orders from a capital a thousand miles distant. Even a subject race liveth not by bread alone.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

## THE MILK-SUPPLY OF CALCUTTA, ITS HYGIENIC, COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

BY CHUNILAL BOSE, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

### Hygienic and Commercial Aspects :

MEASURES RECOMMENDED FOR  
IMPROVED AND INCREASED  
SUPPLY.

**S**O long as the present conditions of the housing and milking of cows will continue, the public of Calcutta can not avoid drinking more or less dirty milk.

#### SOURCES OF INFECTION.

The cow-sheds are generally filthy, over-crowded, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. The floors often remain thickly covered with a mixture of decomposing dung and urine, and the animals stand, sit or lie down thereon for 24 hours. A thick crust of dried excreta could always been seen on the udders and bodies of the animals which are seldom properly washed. An offensive smell could always be noticed on entering a cow-shed. Swarms of flies and mosquitoes complete the picture of an average cow-shed in a 'gowala bustee' in Calcutta. Milk is drawn morning and evening in these dirty insanitary holes by men wearing dirty clothes and with unwashed hands, and it is collected in dirty vessels. The rubbing of the hands on the dirt-laden udder of the animal during milking and the incessant lashing of the tail to

drive off flies and mosquitoes cause many a particle of excreta to drop into the freshly-drawn milk and make it unsafe and unfit as food.

The enforcement of the Municipal regulations in Calcutta has undoubtedly improved to some extent the state of matters so far as the housing of cows is concerned, but the men, the animals and the milk-pots do not show any appreciable sign of improvement in their sanitary conditions. Perhaps the deep-rooted idea among the Hindus that cow-dung, far from being filthy, is a purifying substance, has much to account for the indifference of the gowalas to take proper precautions against contamination of milk by the filth of the animals. Then again the fact that hands are universally used in this country for taking food makes people think lightly of the general habit of touching food by hand, and this might account for the practice with the gowalas of dipping their dirty hands with the measuring pot into the milk-can without for a moment realising the objectionable feature of the act. Moreover, the cleansing of a vessel with water, irrespective of its source and character, is usually considered sufficient to ensure its cleanliness. These ideas and practices have grown hoary with age and cannot be easily eradicated. They are



largely responsible for the contamination of milk in the gowala's house ; they can be removed only by long continued education and training.

The milk is transported in wide-mouthed open vessels to the place of sale or delivery and there it remains uncovered until disposed of. Dust and dirt of all kinds easily have access into it, flies from doubtful quarters come and sit upon it, and offensive-smelling gases get absorbed by it. In order to prevent spilling during transport, green date-palm leaves or bundles of straw are often put into the can and this constitutes an additional source of infection.

#### MODEL DAIRIES.

To give the gowalas an opportunity to learn how to produce clean milk, one or two model dairies on a small scale should be started in Calcutta under the direct management of the Corporation and the local gowalas should be encouraged to visit these places and see with their own eyes the work done there in detail. Prizes in the shape of money or cattle should be annually given to men who keep clean cow-sheds and clean animals and who produce milk under most cleanly conditions. The Municipality can run stalls of its own to sell the produce of these model dairies which should form in the main so many training schools for the gowalas ; but there will be no dearth of local market for the produce. The Bagbazar model dairy did not succeed because the authorities wanted the gowalas to keep their cows in it which they could not agree to do for obvious reasons. The cows are usually looked after in the houses of the gowalas by their women-folk ; this could not conveniently be done in a public dairy, and hence no gowala could be induced to take his cows there. He would gladly come and learn the improved methods of producing milk in a model dairy but would not, on grounds of economy, convenience and social customs, remove his cows there.

It is no doubt very desirable, on both sanitary and economic grounds, that all cow-sheds and dairies should be removed outside the town as has been suggested by Major Matson and the Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation in their able reports on the subject of milk-supply in Calcutta, but I am afraid that it will take a

long time before this scheme can be completely carried out. In the meantime, we must not sit idle and allow the existing unsatisfactory state of things to continue. We must educate the people concerned in the trade how to produce milk under the best hygienic conditions and the model dairies suggested above will go a great way to help us in attaining this object. It cannot be denied that there are serious social and financial difficulties in the way of the gowalas leaving their family homesteads and settling themselves in strange places outside Calcutta to carry on their trade. It will take some time for them to get over their scruples and difficulties and to understand and appreciate the undoubted advantages of removing their trade outside Calcutta, as advised by experts. But I believe that the moral and educative influence of the model dairies I have suggested, will help a great deal to solve the difficult problem of the final emigration of the gowala population from the city into the country.

#### GRAZING GROUND.

It is often and often found that as soon as a cow gives up milk, the gowalas try to sell her to butchers to avoid the expenses of maintaining the animal until her next milking period and to make room for another milch-cow in his already over-crowded cow-shed. As they generally buy cows of good breed yielding a fairly large quantity of milk, such practice causes serious waste of cattle of good milking capacity and stops perpetuation of their species. The gowalas are compelled to take to this wasteful practice for financial reasons only, and it could be prevented by devising some means by which they could maintain the cows at the least possible cost and inconvenience during their dry period. This can be effected by starting grazing farms by private enterprise, where these cows can be taken and cared for till their next milking period at a reasonable cost. Attempts have been made by certain philanthropic societies to start a few grazing farms near Calcutta. These, I am told, have not proved successful and I have grave doubts as to whether such an undertaking will ever succeed unless managed on sound business methods and principles. Here is a field open to my countrymen for launching a new business with moderate capital which may



ultimately develop into a prosperous concern.

A new joint stock company has, I understand, just been started under the name "The Cattle Preserving Company Ltd." at 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta, with the object of supplying pure milk at a comparatively cheap rate in Calcutta. They also propose to provide for extensive grazing grounds near Calcutta where cattle will be taken care of at a small cost during dry period.

#### DAIRY-FARM.

To ensure pure milk supply in Calcutta on a large scale, one or more big dairy-farms should be started outside Calcutta on the joint stock company principle. A large piece of land should be secured where the cattle will be located, fodder-crops will be cultivated, and sufficient ground set apart for the grazing of the cattle. It should be near a railway station to ensure quick transport of the produce and should be under the management of an expert assisted by one or more competent veterinary assistants and chemists. It should be provided with a laboratory for both chemical and bacteriological analysis of milk, a veterinary hospital and laboratory for treatment of sick animals, diagnosis of cattle-disease and manufacture of vaccines, and should possess adequate arrangements for pasteurisation of milk. All milk should be produced there under approved sanitary conditions, pasteurised, and then sent out for sale in sterilised locked cans with taps for drawing out the milk. Besides milk, the manufacture of other milk-products, such as cream, butter, fresh milk-curd (chhana), curdled milk (dahi), condensed milk and dried milk, for which there is such a large demand among the Indian community, may be attempted, if surplus milk is available.

It has been suggested that a dairy-farm of this kind should be organised by the Calcutta Corporation and conducted under its direct control. While admitting that there are certain advantages in this proposal, I am doubtful whether it could be run on the same economic scale as by a well-organised private company, and thus one of the chief aims, viz., the cheapening of the supply, will not be attained. Moreover, the present time is very opportune for a private enterprise of this kind. The national consciousness has been roused

and a general awakening is visible from one end of the country to the other. Educated India has begun to recognise the stern fact that for the salvation of the country, the methods hitherto pursued will not do, that commerce and industry must be developed and that he himself has to play a very important part in the economic evolution of the country. He has begun to appreciate the benefits of a co-operative system of working and has learnt to value the dignity of labour. He has demonstrated his capacity as an organiser in various departments of life, and he had never before put a stronger faith in his own capability and honour. Now, a little help from the Government in the way of advice, guidance and special training will make him fit to conduct even big enterprises with credit to himself and prosperity to his country. Before starting a dairy-farm, he must get himself thoroughly initiated into the work by serving necessary periods of apprenticeship in Government and other well-conducted dairies. Many of our industries have failed because of the lack of expert knowledge and business training and capacity in those who were responsible for their management and any new industry started should keep clear of these pitfalls. Capital for the enterprise will not be wanting, if capable workers are available. A private company starting a big dairy-farm will certainly be at a greater disadvantage in the beginning than one started by Government or by a rich Municipality like the Calcutta Corporation with so much wealth, resources and prestige at their command, but I have no doubt that with the friendly help of Government and the Calcutta Corporation, it will before long turn into a prosperous concern and will succeed in solving satisfactorily the difficult problem of the milk supply of Calcutta. In the interest of development of trade by private enterprise, I do not like to see such a dairy-farm started either by the Calcutta Municipality or by Government, as either of them will be a formidable competitor and the natural growth of private enterprise will suffer much. I shall have to speak a few words later on about the establishment of smaller dairies on co-operative lines.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF BREED.

To ensure an increased supply of milk and at a cheaper rate, the first and the



most important measure, therefore, is the establishment of dairy-farms outside Calcutta, and the next measure is to improve the breed of the cattle which can only be done successfully in these big dairies. The breed of Bengal cows has much deteriorated and this, combined with the slaughter of prime cows of other good breeds after two or three lactation-periods, famines and floods,\* and the prevalence of epidemic diseases† among the cattle is telling heavily on the milk-producing capacity of the country. Besides, thousands of cattle are poisoned annually in India by a certain class of people called *Chamars* who kill other people's animals for the sake of their hides only. The diminution of the cost of maintaining cows during their dry period would, it is hoped, prevent much of this fearful waste of valuable cattle-life, and for this, the starting of grazing farms under private enterprise and the rearing of cattle under proper sanitary arrangements are necessary. We shall require the help of Government for securing land for dairy-farms and grazing grounds under the operation of the Land Acquisition Act and I have no doubt that such help would readily be forthcoming, if the projects prove to be practical and financially sound. We shall also require help from Government in the way of expert advice in the matter of cattle-breeding, production of fodder-crops and prevention of cattle-disease etc., and also in the way of giving facilities to our youngmen for admission into Government dairies for practical training in dairy-work. Government help will also be required for obtaining concession from the different Railway companies for transport of milk at reduced freights. We shall require the help of the Calcutta Municipality for providing good stalls with suitable sanitary arrangements in different parts of Calcutta at reasonable rates of rent for the sale of milk, and for

obtaining facilities for speedy transport of milk.

The other measures recommended are:—

(1) *The Calcutta Municipal Act should be so amended as to penalise the sale of any milk other than pure.*

(2) *All milk sold in Calcutta should be brought under the complete control of the Municipality. This will necessitate the establishment of a larger number of milk-markets at convenient places in Calcutta and the increasing of the present Inspection and Laboratory staff of the Corporation.*

(3) *A thorough and more frequent inspection of cow-sheds in Calcutta and a more rigorous application of the Municipal regulations in regard to the production and sale of milk.*

(4) *Prohibition of slaughter of milch-cows as far as practicable.*

(5) *Concerted action with Suburban Municipalities for exercise of an effective sanitary control over the production of milk for supply in Calcutta.*

#### CO-OPERATION IN MILK-SUPPLY.

The scheme for starting big dairy-farms outside Calcutta may take time to mature and it will be sometime before such farms can be put in a proper working order. In the meantime, we can develop the system of milk-supply in Calcutta on *Co-operative lines*. Already work of this kind on a small scale has been taken up by the Department of Co-operative Societies in Calcutta under Mr. J. T. Donovan, I.C.S. Small Co-operative Societies, of which the milk-producers are themselves the shareholders, have been started in villages near about Calcutta. The initial expenses for starting such a society is small, Rs. 100-200 being required as the working capital, and this is being raised jointly by the Co-operative Department and the shareholders themselves. The system has a good many advantages and is susceptible of considerable expansion. In villages, the owners of cows are generally the cultivators of the soil and cattle-keeping is only of secondary importance to them, their primary occupation being agriculture. These people are as a class so disintegrated and illiterate that they are ignorant of the ordinary principles of trade. This village milk-trade, therefore, like all other indigenous industries, is degraded and handicapped by the evil forces exercised on

\* There occurs a very large loss of cattle-life in different parts of India during famines and floods. In Rajputana alone, when famine visited that province in 1900, about 7,000,000 cattle died, and in Guzrat, about 500,000.—N. N. Gangopadhyaya's *Progress of Agriculture in India*.

† The number of deaths from epidemic diseases was 187231 in 1912-13, and 193741 in 1913-14. This has probably been under-estimated judging from the returns of export of hides during the same period. N. N. Gangopadhyaya's *Progress of Agriculture in India*.



it by the "middle-men" and the *Mahajan*. The actual producers are bound by contract to supply milk at a low unremunerative rate to the "middle men" who bring the milk within the easy reach of the citizens of Calcutta. The owners of the cattle thus get a mere subsistence allowance for all their labour and no wonder they take no interest in the welfare of the cattle. Consequently, there has been a steady decline in the number as well as in the milk-producing capacity of cattle, while the few "middle-men" are growing rich at the expense of the actual producers.

It was about a year ago that the question of the supply of pure milk in this city came to be considered by the Co-operative Department. Many proposals were made, and after well-matured consideration and on expert advice, the Department arrived at the conclusion that the only way of supplying pure milk to the city which would at the same time benefit the milk-producers themselves, was to eliminate the "middle men" altogether and to engender a sense of enlightened self-interest in the producers by organising them into Co-operative societies. These societies are on share-basis. The shares are purchased exclusively by the milk-producers who are the members of these societies. The entire management of the Association is in the hands of the milk-producers themselves under the supervision of the Co-operative Department. The producers sell their milk to the Association individually at a fixed price and it is disposed of in the city collectively by the Association under the supervision of the Co-operative Department. In addition to the remunerative rate (Rs. 7 to 7-8 per maund of 50 seers), the milk-producers get a profit by way of bonus. The milk is sold in Calcutta at the rate of Rs. 10 per maund of 40 seers. There are at present 8 such Co-operative societies in the Baraset subdivision in the 24-Parganas, and they send out collectively 8 maunds of milk daily to Calcutta for sale. These societies are so many training grounds for the milk-producers who acquire first-hand knowledge of the art of management of the milk business. The direct benefit which the milk-producers derive by such organisation evokes in them a sense of enlightened self-interest and of mutual self-help. To prevent adulteration, the Societies have employed milkers who are generally men

of probity, and the purity of milk is tested before sale both at the office of the Societies and at the milk-depot. After a careful working for a period of six months, it is found that the individual members of the Societies who are themselves the producers, have made a profit of 10 per cent. over what they used to get from the "middle men," the cattle which were generally neglected are being well-cared for and that a sense of consciousness that cattle is a part of their wealth and that "cattle like children are all the better for individual attention" is apparent among them. Further, this system of keeping a small number of cattle in separate sheds under the individual care of the cultivators indirectly serves the purpose of segregation during outbreaks of epidemics.

The speedy supply of milk thus produced to the consumers in Calcutta is at present a difficult problem and may be solved by the Calcutta Corporation coming to the help of these Societies and the citizens of Calcutta by lending a motor lorry to fetch the milk and distribute it in the city as speedily as possible. The Co-operative Department has reluctantly to refuse registration of many such societies on account of this trouble and I would earnestly appeal to the Corporation of Calcutta to give this matter their best consideration. These Societies may be expected to pay a reasonable portion of the cost of maintaining the lorry for the present, but it is hoped that as they grow, they will be able to defray the whole expenses of transport by themselves.

I am indebted to Babu Nirendranath Basu, Inspector of Co-operative Societies, for information on this subject.

#### PASTEURISATION VS. BOILING.

The process of pasteurisation consists in heating the milk in a suitable apparatus at a temperature of 60° to 65° C. for about half an hour and cooling it quickly thereafter. This will kill all ordinary bacteria but will not destroy *sporing* forms and *spores*. The one form of bacteria (*Bacillus enteritidis sporogenes*) which is responsible for cases of food-poisoning is not affected in its spores form by the temperature of pasteurisation; these *spores* can only be killed by *boiling the milk* (100° C.) Too much reliance, therefore, must not be placed on the process of pasteurisation. The only safe



course to make milk free from infection is to boil the milk. This is universally practised in Indian houses and should never be omitted in European households. There is no doubt a difference of opinion regarding the digestibility and absorption of boiled milk. It has been held by some that boiled milk is less easily digested and absorbed than raw milk and the drinking of such milk might give rise to certain diseases, such as scurvy etc. The entire absence of scurvy among the Indian people who always drink boiled milk militates against the latter theory. Then the first part of the theory also has been questioned by high authorities on dietetics. I shall quote for your information an extract from a standard book called "The Food and the Principles of Dietetics" by Robert Hutchison who is a high English authority on the subject. He writes:—

"The comparative absorption of boiled and unboiled milk has been the subject of a good deal of experimental investigation. Taking the whole of the evidence, the conclusion seems to be justified that just as boiling does not appreciably diminish the digestibility of milk in the stomach, so it does not to any important extent interfere with its absorption in the intestine. One need have no fear, therefore, that the advantages of boiling are purchased at the cost of any noteworthy diminution of digestibility or absorption."

I have already mentioned that too much reliance should not be placed on the process of pasteurisation. Even when it is thoroughly done, the milk cannot be considered as wholly free from infection. One of its great advocates, Dr. Savage, in his excellent treatise on "Milk and the Public Health" while recommending the process, makes the following important observations as regards the difficulty in carrying it out:—

"Much commercial pasteurisation is inefficiently done. It is a procedure involving an accurate adjustment of time and temperature, and frequently being apt to be performed by careless and unskilled person, the so called 'practical man', it is very insufficiently done. It is likely to be more harmful than beneficial unless the practice is rigidly supervised and the conditions under which it may be employed regulated."

If so much difficulty is experienced in

working out the process in England, its chances of success in India are very doubtful and "would lead to neglect of general sanitary precautions under the belief that it would be an efficient substitute for cleanliness." Under the circumstances, in India, the boiling of milk is the simplest and the safest procedure for its perfect sterilisation and should never be abandoned or neglected.

Hutchinson expresses himself very strongly on the habit of drinking raw milk. He says that "there is every reason to advocate the habitual application of one or other of these methods (pasteurisation or boiling) to milk before it is consumed as food; and one looks forward to the day when the drinking of raw milk will be considered as barbarous a custom as the eating of raw meat is at present."

#### FIXING THE STANDARD VALUES OF PURITY.

I shall now briefly consider the question what should be the minimum standard values of purity of cow's milk in India. At the present moment, there is no authoritative standard, and in cases of dispute in Courts of Law, the English standard of 3 p. c. fat is generally accepted. But any one who has even a limited experience in analysis of milk in this country will unhesitatingly pronounce this to be too low a standard for milk of Indian cows and that its acceptance would largely encourage the practice of adulteration. The percentage of fat in the milk of even ordinary Indian cows seldom falls below 3.5, and in the case of well-bred and well-cared-for animals, it is often above 5. Only recently, 40 samples of milk of known purity from Bengal and Nagora cows were analysed at the Municipal laboratory in Calcutta, and in one of them only, the percentage of fat was 3.5; in some samples, it rose as high as 6, but the average was 5.2. If 3 per cent. of fat is accepted as the minimum standard of purity, most cow's milk in Calcutta would allow from 30 to 40 per cent adulteration with water and yet pass as pure milk under the eye of law. From my own experience extending over 32 years in the Government laboratory in Calcutta, I can safely say that we would not go wrong if we fix 4 per cent as the minimum limit of fat in pure cow's milk, and there is enormous weight of evidence to show that it would not be a high limit at all. In order,



however, to proceed cautiously in the matter, I would for the present recommend the fixing of 3·5 p. c. of fat and 8·5 p. c. of "solids other than fat" as the minimum standard values of purity of cow's milk, and any sample of milk showing a lower percentage should be considered as adulterated. Major Matson, in his admirable report, has dwelt upon this question and has condemned the 3 p. c. standard as too low. He also recommends 3·5 percent of fat as the minimum standard of purity for cow's milk, and the Health Department of Calcutta has adopted this standard.

In framing a standard for this country, there is one difficulty, namely, that we have to deal with two kinds of milk in the Indian market, viz., cow's milk and buffalo's milk, the percentage of fat in the latter, as I have mentioned before, being nearly double of that in the former. The fixing of two standards would be difficult of operation in practice and cannot therefore be recommended. Pure buffalo milk should not contain less than six per cent of fat and less than 10 per cent of "solids other than fat." By accepting the standard I have recommended viz., 3·5 percent of fat and 8·5 percent of "solids other than fat," buffalo milk with about 25 percent of water added will pass for cow's milk, but this need not cause any dissatisfaction, as such milk may be considered as equivalent to good cow's milk.

The absence of an authoritative standard of purity for milk, ghee etc., in this country is causing much inconvenience, and prosecutions for adulteration may fail on this account. In Courts of Law, the contending parties set up figures which are sometimes as widely divergent as the poles, and the Courts may accept the English standards which are hardly applicable to conditions prevailing in India. At the present time, each analyst in giving his opinion on the quality of a sample of ghee, for example, follows his own standard based on methods of analysis and results which are not always uniform and therefore, somewhat arbitrary.

The appointment by Government of a committee of experts to consider and fix the minimum standard values of the purity of important food-stuffs such as ghee, milk, mustard oil etc., is a matter of urgent necessity. Unless some such step is taken, there is every likelihood of much contest taking place in Courts of Law between the

analysts of the opposite parties and it will be difficult for the Court to decide which figures to adopt to satisfy the ends of justice. The work of the committee of experts will be laborious and may take some time for its completion. They will have to procure samples of known purity from all parts of the country under varying conditions, have them carefully analysed by standard methods, and the minimum standard values of purity fixed on the results of such analysis. However, the work will have to be done in the interests of justice and of the supply of pure food-stuffs, and the sooner it is taken up by Government, the better for all parties concerned.

### Social Aspects.

The importance of the effect of a plentiful supply of milk on the social well-being of a community has never been so fully realised as now. Milk is an indispensable article of food for children. The child draws his whole nourishment from milk alone; his health, growth and strength suffer irretrievably if the supply is short in quantity and poor in quality. The child is but the father of the man, and the debility and stunted growth of both body and mind in childhood as the result of under-feeding, reflect strongly on the future manhood of the nation which is thus put under considerable physical and intellectual disadvantage in the general struggle for existence.

The fearful loss of life in the present European War has caused the people of the West to concentrate their attention deeply on the problem of protecting child-life from preventible death and securing its welfare. The claim of poor expectant mothers and babies for a plentiful supply of good food at the cost of the nation is now being more and more recognised.

### INFANT MORTALITY IN CALCUTTA.

The terrible mortality prevalent in Calcutta among children under one year of age is attributable to a combination of causes one of which undoubtedly is want of proper nourishment both of mothers and babies due to extreme poverty. Bad midwifery, insanitary condition of houses and their surroundings, immaturity of parents due to early marriage, ignorance of the simple rules for the preservation of health etc., are some of the causes to ac-



count for the high rate of infant mortality in the town of Calcutta, but the inability to procure sufficient nourishment for the mother and the baby and the feeding of the child with unsuitable food which it cannot digest, are no doubt strong factors in increasing the death-rate of children under one year of age. This is a matter for serious reflection by the leaders of the community. If we want to prevent this cruel waste of child-life in this city, then along with the adoption of sanitary measures and the provision of skilled medical help to poor women during confinement, we must see that the expectant mothers get sufficient amount of nourishing food, and their babies, the required quantity of good milk. The Corporation of Calcutta and the philanthropists of the city must join hands and work together in giving effect to this proposal.

Dr. Crake, the Health Officer of Calcutta, attributes a good proportion of infant deaths in this city to the bad health of mothers who cannot get sufficient nourishing food owing to poverty. Thus he observes in his Annual Report for 1915-16:

"More than one-third of the total deaths amongst infants occurred during the first week of life. The great majority of the deaths (1210 out of 1603) were due to the premature birth and debility at birth. The causes of this literal decimation of the infants born in Calcutta must obviously be almost wholly maternal. Poverty and the consequent lack of good nourishing food is probably one of the chief factors. When the expectant mother is not only underfed but is also subjected to the strain of pregnancy and lactation at short intervals, and constantly exposed to insanitary surroundings as a *purdanashin*, puny sickly babies, who only survive a few days, are the inevitable result."

#### ANTE-NATAL CLINICS.

The Health Officer has thrown certain valuable suggestions which would lead to reduction of the heavy loss of infant life in Calcutta. Some of these measures have proved successful in combating the evil in Europe and America and there is no reason why they should not be tried in Calcutta, although certain modifications appear likely to be required in their application in this city to suit the special conditions of the social life of the people. The chief object of these measures

is to improve the health of the poor expectant mother by bettering her sanitary surroundings, giving her expert advice in matters of domestic hygiene and in her preparation for the confinement-period, placing skilled medical help at her disposal during and after child-birth, and providing for better nourishment both for her (before and after confinement) and for her baby during the first few months of its life. I cannot do better than quote Dr. Crake's observations on this point. Says Dr. Crake—"The spread of education and the constantly increasing scope of preventive medicine in other countries has resulted in the establishment of "*ante-natal clinics*". Lady Health Visitors visit expectant mothers and encourage them to visit the clinics, particularly if there are any suspicious symptoms, such as albuminuria, œdema, etc. Philanthropic agencies co-operate and poor women are assisted to secure good nourishing food. Working on these lines, much could be done for the poor women of Calcutta if they could be induced to visit such a clinic. This branch of preventive medicine, however, is a comparatively recent development, and there is little or no hope of success for any such institution in Calcutta at the present time."

#### BABY CLINICS.

As regards the saving of baby-life, he says that "whilst proper attendance at birth would save scores of mothers and hundreds of babies, there is no provision for trained supervision during the first few critical weeks. The remedy in a community with more advanced ideas on preventive medicine, is of course the establishment of "*Baby clinics*" which have been so successful in Europe. These institutions are in charge of highly trained nurses and regular clinics are held by honorary physicians, usually specialists in diseases of children. Mothers are encouraged to bring their babies at regular intervals about once a week. A careful examination (of which weighing is an important part) is made and full and detailed instructions on the feeding, clothing and rearing of infants are given to the mother. A most essential part of the scheme is a milk-depot, where not only pure sterilised milk can be obtained, but where carefully prepared "Humanised milk" graduated to meet the requirements



of each individual case, is made up according to the physician's directions. Here again, philanthropic societies join with the municipal authorities, and there is a fund for providing milk free of charge to the poor unable to pay for it. Such is the brief outline of the scheme adopted by many municipalities at Home."

#### LADY HEALTH VISITORS AND THEIR WORK.

Cannot some thing of this kind be done for the city of Calcutta? The *purdah* system and the ignorance of the people will, I am afraid, stand for a long time against general success attending establishment of "*ante-natal clinics*" in Calcutta, but one or two may be established for the benefit of the poor Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian and a few other communities which do not observe the *purdah*. In the case of Indians, very few *purdah* women, Hindus or Mahomedans, in their delicate condition could be induced to visit these "*mothers' clinics*" and get benefited by the advice and help given there by experts. And here I venture to suggest a modification of the system which, if accepted, would go a great way to solve this difficult problem. I would have the poor expectant mothers in the city regularly visited in their own homes by our Lady Health Visitors, helping them to improve the sanitary condition of the house and its surroundings, advising them how best to make themselves fit for the coming critical period, supplying them with medicines and milk free of charge where necessary, providing for skilful medical help during confinement, and looking after the baby for a few weeks after its birth.

There is already a good nucleus for such work in the Calcutta Municipality. The present organisation of Lady Health Visitors and nurses under them should be further expanded and employed solely for this purpose, so that every poor woman in the city is able to take the fullest advantage of this system for the preservation and betterment of infant life in Calcutta.

#### FREE SUPPLY OF MILK.

The question of supplying good nourishing food to the poor mother is more complicated in India than in Europe owing to religious and caste restrictions. Soup and other kinds of ready made food are sup-

plied to mothers in Europe. Such a procedure cannot be adopted in the case of the Hindu community here. The only food to which objection will not be taken is milk, and this should be supplied to deserving cases free of charge.

Milk depots should be opened by the Calcutta Corporation or suitable arrangements should be made with respectable vendors for supply of milk to mothers and babies free of charge on presentation of certificates issued by Lady Health Visitors who may be depended upon to issue such certificates in deserving cases only.

For free distribution of medicines and milk, the Corporation must be assisted by public philanthropy, and I have no doubt that if the scheme is well-understood, there will be no lack of funds to support it.

As regards "*Baby clinics*", these may be started as an experimental measure. It may be that in the beginning, the results will appear disappointing. Here, however, we shall not meet with the same difficulty as in the case of "*ante-natal clinics*", for babies may be taken to these places by elderly female members or the male members of the family who may be expected to carry out the instructions of the experts. Here also certificates for free distribution of milk may be given by the medical officer in charge according to the requirements of each case, and these will be attended to when presented at the milk-depot.

In this connection, I am glad to quote the valuable observations of Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhan Dutt, one of the leading members of the Corporation of Calcutta, made in an important paper on "Infant Mortality and Maternity Home" recently read by him at a meeting of the Calcutta Medical Club :

"The work done by the three Health units (each unit consisting of a Lady Health Visitor and a few nurses under her) in Calcutta has been found to be useful. If, however, any appreciable reduction in infant mortality is to be secured, the baby welfare work has to be further extended and provision should be made to meet the urgent needs of the poor mothers and their infants. Pure milk and, in winter, warm clothing for infants have to be supplied. The important question of giving nourishing food to mothers during lactation will have to be solved. Calcutta is not lacking in pious and rich persons. Why should not



they come forward and combine and form charitable institutions to do this blessed work for the amelioration of the poor?"

The recent remarks of Sir Robert Armstrong Jones, M. D., made at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts are also worth quoting in this place. He said:—

"Next in importance to the marvellous changes brought about in the habits of the people consequent upon the war, has been the fuller realisation of the pressing importance and the sacredness of child-life, and the lesson taught is the precious care that should be exercised in its protection and its supervision." He further observed that "mothers should receive, by State Control, proper, prompt and skilled attendance during and after confinement; infants should receive treatment until the child goes on to the school register, and the home should be visited by authorized persons so as to foster a public opinion educated to set a high value upon infant life and not to tolerate its neglect. The rebuilding of our manhood is only possible when the dignity of motherhood has become the corner-stone of our public faith and creed."

#### MILK IN INDIAN DIETARY.

Besides being children's food, milk is

depended upon as the principal source of proteid and fat in the dietary of a very large proportion of the Indian adult population. In every country, there is a certain number of people who do not take flesh food but live upon vegetable diet supplemented by milk and milk-products. In India, the number of vegetarians is, I think, considerably larger than in all the countries of the world put together, and it is no exaggeration to say that milk forms with them an indispensable article of diet. The Jains, the Vaisnavas, a large number of Hindus belonging to higher castes and particularly their widows, do not eat flesh in any form at all. Milk and its products, such as butter, ghee, milk-curd, *dahi* etc., in one or other form, are consumed by Indian vegetarians, and even those that take meat and fish, daily use milk in some form or other, in limited quantities. The importance of milk in Indian dietary cannot, therefore, be over-estimated. Indeed, an Indian dietary is considered incomplete without milk or one or other of its various products.

One can see from all this how very necessary it is to adopt suitable measures to increase, improve and cheapen the milk-supply of the country.

## MICA AND ITS TRADE

IN a previous article on mica and its industry I have tried to give an idea as to what mica is, its different characteristics and how it is mined. In the present article I will endeavour to give to the readers glimpses of the different stages the mica has to pass through during its handlings from the raw material as obtained from the mine to the finished product and also its various other technical and commercial aspects.

The raw and crude mica or book mica as obtained from the mines direct is properly dressed to the necessary shape and size to make it a marketable commodity. The operations connected with such works are done in mica factories.

A mica mine owner generally owns a

mica factory in which the raw mica is turned to dressed mica. People who have no mines buy the raw book mica or semi-dressed mica and turn it in their own factories to the desired specifications suiting the demand.

These mica factory businesses are big enterprises of large concerns and as well as modest means of livelihood to home industrialists. The size of a factory ranges from a gigantic organised work of big concerns working in places equipped with the necessities of a regular modern factory, to a small hut in which a single family works. In a mica bearing tract or a mica mining centre it is a common sight to see a whole group of family members, men, women and even children of tender ages,



working in their own house as mica dressers or splitters and thus making their own cottage a small factory.

Let us now proceed to see how a regular mica factory works. The apparatus necessary for factory and mica dressing is plain and simple. An ordinary locally made sickle and a piece of handleless knife and a wooden peg of about one foot length are all the implements generally used. The workmen sit squatting on the floor in long rows in a covered but well lighted shed, the different sexes of labourers being kept separate. A peg is driven into the ground a few inches and fixed one each in front of a workman. Weighed quantities of mica in bundles as they come from the mines are supplied to each workman. The workmen then take out blocks of mica, small or big pieces from the bundles, break them in thinner blocks with the point of the sickle thrust through the material, support the blocks or press the edges of the blocks on and against the peg and cut the edges on both sides giving them chisel point surfaces. The edges and sides are thus trimmed and cleaned of all broken and damaged edges, unnecessary and uneven portions, dark and defective spots, rifted surface and all other irregularities and deformities. Defective layers and laminae are also removed retaining only good and serviceable pieces of mica. The thus dressed mica takes various shapes and sizes, ordinarily varying from a small bit of the size of a piece to a big piece of the size of a good full sized photo plate and in various shapes of round, square, oblong and elongated to peculiar fantastic shapes.

These operations are known as the dressings of mica. This portion of the work is always done by males who on an average can dress upto half a maund of raw mica per day per man and producing out of this about three seers of useful mica. From a better raw stuff of about half a maund of mica a quantity of about five seers of useful mica may be obtained.

These dressed blocks are next passed on to the sorting department. Here they are separated in different qualities and in grades. The qualities vary in colours and clearness in general, and grades vary according to sizes. In the sorting department the sorters are provided with knives and scissors and grade measuring forms. Each individual piece of mica is carefully seen,

defective portions removed and cut out for the second time and proper assortments made according to various qualities, sizes and grades. Thus finally cleaned pieces are known as dressed block mica.

The block micas either in their finished state or semi-dressed condition are split into very thin layers and laminae known as splittings. The splitting is generally done by women and children. With a thin piece of rude knife the workers split the blocks with great rapidity and dexterity of fingers into very thin splittings. The thin splittings are arranged and spread one by one as they are taken out of the block mica, in a round metal casing which works handy and as a mould. When a certain quantity of splittings is put into this the casing is inverted and a desired layer of split mica is obtained, the sheets being compact and close pressed of themselves.

When very big and thick blocks or books of mica are to be handled then the first operations of cutting and cleaning the edges are done by small hand guillotine machines and by big sized scissors and cutters.

In well-equipped mica factories, power-driven machines are used for shearing, cutting, punching and so on. To suit the customers' demand, blocks or splittings may be required to be cut in circular discs or square pieces or any other fancy shapes. For such works punching machines are used similar to that of tin sheet working machines.

After the pieces of mica are dressed, sorted and cleaned, they are packed in wooden cases. Great care is taken to pack them in water proof coverings and cases. Ordinary low grade mica is packed in heaps, but higher grade quality blocks are first well cleaned with velvet and soft leather and individual pieces wrapped up in papers and then packed in well lined cases.

The dressing, sorting and packing are the three main kinds of works of a mica factory. These operations are done in various sized factories employing from say 10 men upto 500 men. There are generally three kinds of factories.

1. Factory in which only block mica is produced.
2. Factory in which only splittings work is done.
3. Combined works of both the above kinds.



The three different styles of factory afford work and facilities for different systems and natures of work.

Mica mine-owners in general resort to the 1st and 3rd systems of work. The mica obtained from their own mines are either dressed into block only or also made into splittings. The 2nd system is resorted to by concerns who buy block mica or semi-dressed mica and split them in their own factories. This system is also followed by concerns and men who do not buy any mica but secure contracts for splitting mica from block mica supplied to them. This splitting industry is more or less a home industry.

Splitting contractors secure orders and a supply of mica which is to be split. This they distribute among other petty contractors or individuals who work either in the contractor's house or in their own homes and houses. This system affords opportunity and facility of work to the poorest of the poor who has thus not to run any risk or sink any capital.

The wages and earnings of the factory workers or home workers for block dressing or splitting ranges from about 3 to 6 annas for adults and experts and one anna to 3 annas for juveniles and new hands. The earnings are all on piece work. The sorters and packers, etc., are mostly engaged on monthly wages.

The chips, shavings and cuttings of mica from mica factories are thrown away and kept in heaps known as dumps. Mica in dumps are thrown away as useless articles for the time being but requisitioned thereafter. Dumps may be mine dump or factory dump. During slack season when there is not much work in hand or during the time when mining operation cannot be made and also when there is great demand for cheap mica in the market, the dumps are worked and all the available and useful mica is again tapped from these sources. The goods thus obtained are undoubtedly of inferior quality since it is only a reclaiming process of the once thrown away material. Sometimes old mine or factory dumps yield good grades which have been thrown away by neglect or oversight or wilfully. Some customers buy dump and waste mica as they are.

Mica is of various qualities and grades. The Indian mica is generally of ruby, brown, green, silvery and black colour. The best is said to be the ruby ones. The non-

brittle, stiff and pliable but not very hard variety, of metallic lustre and sound, of uniform colour, clear, and free from stains or specks, is the best quality. The different qualities are known as clear, slightly stained, stained heavily, etc. The defects occur in various shapes, such as black dotted, spotted, cross grained, rilled, fluted with fine orifices, and stains of various colours and intensity. Bluish rings, fissures, and uneven surfaces are counted as defects.

The grades vary according to the sizes. The sizes vary according to the area that the surface of a block contains. The ordinary sizes are known as numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5½ and 6, and extraordinary sizes are known as special, extra special, etc. The sizes are measured by the maximum rectangle contained in each block in square inches. Numbers 1 to 6 should generally contain 36, 24, 15, 10, 6, 2¼ and 1 sq. inches and specials should contain over 36 sq. inches.

The prices of mica vary according to quality and size. For the good quality of dressed block mica the local prices in ordinary times range from Rs. 6 per one maund of No. 6 to Rs. 300 for one maund of No. 1; and Rs. 400 to 500 for specials. For inferior qualities the prices are much lower. Split mica fetches better price. A maund of No. 6 splittings would fetch about Rs. 15. Splittings of mica are generally done up to No. 4. Higher grades and bigger and special sizes are not split but retained in original and block pieces which are about ½ in. thickness in general. The various thicknesses and sizes depend on the wishes and demands of the customers and the market. The exporters however get a much more decent price; sufficient margin is left in the transactions and a good profit made.

During the pre-war period a regular trade was maintained and a flourishing trade was carried on. The war with its concomitant difficulties and disadvantages set back the progress of the industry and trade of mica for some period and a slack season was gone through for some time. The Government, wishing to restrict the exports, gave power to certain firms only to collect and export all Indian mica. With special licenses some firms carried on their own business in the usual way. Just during this period and at the present time, owing to greater demands and other



causes, the prices have inflated, and abnormal prices for good mica are said to be reigning in the markets. The price of good No. 6 mica now is about Rs. 60 per pound and the prices of other grades are proportionate. The embargo on the exports has been removed lately.

Let us now see how the methods of mica trade are carried out. The mine owners are individual local persons, joint families, private or joint-stock companies of outsiders and foreigners, Indians and Europeans. Small concerns work their mines, prepare mica block or splittings and sell them locally to bigger concerns or agents of foreign concerns. The smaller concerns however do not go so far but sell their productions to the nearest general trader or bania who in turn sells to travelling agents or traders and other mine owners. The big concerns buy and collect other mica along with their own productions and send them down to seaports for foreign exports, directly or through the agents and bankers. Thus we see that from a petty dealer up to the exporting agents, very many hands are changed and many transactions gone through, with profits to all.

This easy transaction and sure profit are taken advantage of unlawfully by secret agents and traders. Smugglings, thefts, and underhand transactions are not rare. There are intricacies and difficulties in identification of qualities, grades, etc., and detected wrong-doers are not and cannot be always challenged to explain their position and illicit handlings. Any and every piece of useful mica, small or big, is saleable and transferable and exchangeable in kind and coins. Therefore, thefts in mines, factories, dumps during transits and in ordinary handlings and transactions are general occurrences.

The extent of industry and trade of mica and the progress made in the same will be realised from the facts that, about a score of years ago, in 1900, there were about 130 mica mines employing about 10,000 hands and producing about 900 tons of mica in all India,—more than half of this quantity came from Nellore, Madras—; while in 1913-1914 official year ending in March, the exports only of mica were about 2700 tons.

In 1899 about 700 tons of mica valued at about 9 lakhs of rupees were exported, whereas in 1913-1914 about 2700 tons

of mica of the value of about 45 Lakhs of Rupees were exported. In the principal mica mining centres of Behar, Madras and Ajmere, the number of mines and factories and the number of labourers employed in the same have increased considerably during the last decade; the quantities of export and their values will justify the statement. The volume of trade has quadrupled, or so, during the last 20 years.

The volume of trade will be better understood from the following statistics—

#### I. Total exports of mica.

Period	Total	Share of Bengal (mostly or rather wholly Behar Mica).
1912-1913	341349£	292645£
1914-1915	191066£	153618£
1916-1917	341255£	—

From the above it will be seen that before the war the trade was pretty flourishing. Owing to the war there was a big fall in the exports, being nearly halved. Latterly the situation improved much and the past years' records are again encouraging. The share of Bengal, which should be taken as mostly or wholly Behar mica, comes up to about 80 per cent. of the total export on an average.

It should also be taken into consideration that the above gives us an idea only of the export values but not the raisings and productions. The productions must be much higher and the balance being used up in our country for very many purposes.

#### II. Exports from different ports.

From	Value in £	Cwts.
From Calcutta Port		
1912-1913	292645	56504.
1913-1914	236765	41313.
From Bombay Port.		
1912-1913	5524	816.
1913-1914	9397	1707.
From Madras Port.		
1912-1913	43180	9254.
1913-1914	56402	10871.

#### III. Exports to different Countries :

	1912-1913	1914-15	1916-17
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	202405	122849	258835
Germany	58686	—	—
U. S. A.	55944	37633	69658
France	3446	—	—
Austria	1137	—	—
Other countries	—	30583	19760.



Mica is exported mostly to the United Kingdom which is also a market for American buyers, as well as the continental countries. During the pre-war period next to the United Kingdom came Germany as the next big buyer of Indian mica. Nowadays mica is also sent direct to the U.S.A., Straits Settlements, China, Japan, S. Africa, etc. There are also restrictions however on such exports.

#### IV. Exports during the month of March 1917 :

U. K.	375296 Rs.
U. S. A.	80482 "
Other countries	26535 "
<b>Total</b>	<b>482313 Rs.</b>

It will be interesting to know the different uses to which mica is put. Mica has various and extensive uses. In Siberia, China, etc., it is used as window glass. Formerly it was used as porthole coverings of battleships. Even now it is said that mica is used in some form or another in various types of battleships.

Powdered mica is used in wall papers to give them a frosty appearance, in paper making, sometimes and also in theatrical stages to give particular effects. Museum specimens are attached to mica pieces and kept dipped in spirits. For microscopic specimens mica pieces are also used. Owing to its transparency and heat non-conducting characteristics furnace peep holes, lamp chimneys, fire screens, stove windowlets, etc., are prepared from it. All transparent surfaces of non-breaking types and dust-proofing effects are made from mica. Picture slides of mica produce good effects.

Owing to its insulating effects mica splittings are now extensively used in dynamo armature windings. It is used to a great extent in lubricants and as an absorbent of glycerine. Mica powder and scraps are used in conjunction with glycerine for high explosives and gunpowder. Mica is used in the preparation of lithium salts. Owing to its chemical composition, it is requisitioned by farmers in agricultural works. Presence of scrap mica in fields give physical effects in loosening the soil apart from other chemical effects. Refractory materials such as fire bricks etc., are made with certain proportions of mica. Electrical apparatus and explosives are the two main items for which mica is now in great demand.

Mica powder is used in giving non-radiating effects to steam pipes, boilers and all such heat conducting and heat giving appliances. Roofings are covered with mica scraps to give protection from sun's heat.

In our country very many ordinary uses are made of mica. Painted pictures on mica are sold in markets. In lamp chimneys, light shades and domes, palm leaf hand punkhas, wooden and paper marionettes and puppets, taziahs, toys of various kinds, wearing apparel of women and in very many other things mica is employed in India. Ornaments and decorations are the main features of utility in our country. Black mica is used for medicinal purposes in Ayurvedic drugs.

Sheets of prepared mica are known as micanites. Pieces of mica dipped in some glutinous substances, spread in layers in contiguity on liners forming long continuous sheets are known as prepared mica sheets. These can be cut according to any desired shape and size and thus made easy and suitable for various manipulations for the purpose it is used.

Attempts have been made and even some success have been achieved at making artificial mica. But all the special properties of natural mica, such as transparency, perfect cleavage by which it can be easily split in thinnest layers possible, insulating properties, flexibility and elasticity to stand shocks or sudden change in temperatures, chemical stability in acids and oils, etc., suitable colour, opacity and non-conductivity to heat, etc., cannot very likely be approached and imitated by artificial articles. It is said that large crystallised artificial mica has not yet been produced. Cheapness, plentiful supply, etc., are some more other considerations.

'Mica is gold as they say in Behar and rightly they say so. Mica is easily exchangeable for gold. In the interior of mica-mining centres mica is exchangeable for other commodities. It is always a marketable commodity in any state and every serviceable smallest piece has some value. Quantities however small easily pass hands and go current. Even in America mica is an article of exchange between farmers and storekeepers.

The ease with which mica handlings are effected and the apparent simplicity of its transactions, are great attractions equally to ordinary businessmen and traders on



the one hand and non-traders and amateurs on the other. In fact visitors and holiday-makers in mica mining areas and districts are struck with the easy, simple, quick-money-return methods and sure profits of mica transactions and trade. Big yarns and tales as to the fabulous profits in mica trade and industry quickly get hold of new comers, uninitiated persons and fresh enthusiasts.

Undoubtedly mica trade and industry have a great future and prospects; there is still a vast and limitless field in the line. It is true also that there are immense profits in this business if carried on in proper ways and systems; but there are sad pitfalls too.

The apparent simplicity in things connected with mica, i.e., small capital, high profits, easy labour, etc., easily attract persons. But there are intricacies and difficulties which do not appear at first sight to fresh enterprisers. Very careful and cautious movements are therefore necessary in the beginning when launching in this trade.

It is premature to say what would

be the state and conditions of mica industry after the war. There are as usual speculations in the subject. The present state, inspite of the rigours of the war, is very hopeful. If such conditions continue there is every reason to be optimistic over the future. The demand of mica has steadily increased after the second year of the war; and it is on the increase now. We can not predict whether this will continue till the end of the war and how the demand would be after it. Anyhow the future prospects seem to be very encouraging.

Behar mica works, after the rude shock during the second year of the war, are recovering and are steadily increasing their output. The latest reports of the Southern India mica works are that a perceptible revival has been made. Mica industry and trade presents still an unlimited field and opportunity to the right person. An honest entrepreneur with sufficient pluck and grit in him has a very bright and hopeful future in this line.

ANANDAPROKASH GHOSE.

## FREE-LANCE

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

**A** FREE-LANCE, in journalistic circles, is a journalist who is not attached to any particular paper. Originally free-lances were those who carried on irregular warfare. In common parlance, a free-lance is an "outsider", for he is not on the staff of any paper, but writes for different papers on different topics. He may either depend wholly on journalism for his maintenance or may make it a part profession, and thus eke out his income by his occasional writings in different papers. Authors and barristers who contribute to papers are said to be free-lances in this sense. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, Marie Corelli, Arnold Bennet, Hall Caine, and H. G. Wells all contribute articles to papers in England. It is a well-known fact that for the series of Sherlock Holmes which appeared in "Collier's Magazine", America, Sir. A. C. Doyle was paid at the rate of 2s. 6d. a word. Rudyard Kipling, they say, can

get 1 shilling a word. Two years ago Rudyard Kipling contributed a series of articles on France and the War to the "Daily Telegraph." Then he wrote on the Jutland Naval Battle in various London papers. Marie Corelli contributed an admirable article to "The Sunday Times" dated October 22nd 1916, under the title of "In Praise of Our Enemies. The Reactions of Hatred." Arnold Bennet had been writing articles connected with War and Democracy in the "Daily News and Leader." Hall Caine wrote an article on "What the Daughters of Britain are doing" in the "Daily News and Leader" dated October 24, 1916. H. G. Wells had been writing in different papers on problems of education. The practice of journalism is very useful to the author. Apart from money, it teaches him how to write rapidly and quickly. It enables him to turn his materials to immediate use. It gives him the practice of knowing which points to em-



phasize and which to pass over. And, above all, it makes him known to the ordinary newspaper reader, who likes to buy his books the moment they come out. For an author journalism is an effective training-ground, apart from the money and reputation it brings to him. In fact, journalism is a help to his profession as an author. But this is only partially true in the case of a barrister. It is no training-ground for him, unless he wants to give up his profession of law and take to serious literature. It, no doubt, brings him money, but not so much as an author makes out of journalism. It brings him reputation, but it is not a reputation which helps him in his profession, for a barrister may be a great writer, but the fact of his being a great writer does not necessarily prove that he is also a clever barrister. The fact that a man is a very good writer does not in every case prove that he is a very good journalist. On the contrary, men who are really great writers seldom turn out to be good journalists. They lack journalistic instinct. They lack ideas suitable to a newspaper. They want time and space which newspapers can hardly afford to give them. I know a friend of mine who is a graduate of the Cambridge University and is a Barrister-at-Law. He is well-read, well grounded in English language and literature, has a clear head, and is a sound thinker. But he is quite incapable of writing a trifling article for a paper without taking great pains over it.

A free-lance in order to be successful must possess two qualities, firstly, 'nose' for news, and secondly, imagination and descriptive ability. I do not mean to insinuate that these qualities must be inborn in him, and cannot be acquired by industry, patience, and the exercise of his intellect. But I do mean to say that a man who wants to embark on journalism as a free-lance must understand that unless he possesses these qualities or unless he is intellectually so inclined as to acquire these qualities, he cannot make a clever free-lance, and a poverty very close to destitution, unless journalism is his part profession, is most likely to be his doom. His best chance of getting any notice taken of his articles is to keep his eyes and ears open for such news, events or things as are not known to the staff reporter or are not considered sufficiently

important to attract his attention. For instance, the staff reporter does not care to report local meetings unless he thinks them to be of sufficiently general interest. But some of these local meetings are of national interest and escape the attention of the staff reporter. Now if the free-lance were to write an account of such local meetings, in an attractive manner, his contributions are, in the majority of cases, sure to be accepted by some paper or other. But he must combine a "nose" for news with what is generally known as imagination and descriptive ability. No paper would care to accept his contributions if they are dull and mere bald statement of facts, i.e., if they are not written in a pleasing manner. Thus he must avoid being dull. He should be careful to please the reader, for he is not writing to please himself but to please the reader. He must arouse interest in the reader and thus attract his attention. In order to rivet the attention of the reader he must be careful to throw a few entertaining incidents and interesting notes into his article. This is all the more important when he is writing on some technical subject, for technical subjects are the most difficult subjects to grip the reader unless they are written in a most attractive manner. An average education, to start with, with an honest and diligent practice for some time will give him the skill of writing vividly, dramatically and graphically.

The late Marquis of Salisbury was a typical free-lance, and greatly influenced the popular feeling of the time on foreign policy and finance. Though he ceased writing articles for the "Standard" during the early sixties, he continued writing leaders for that paper long after he had discontinued his active connection with the "Saturday Review." And all this time he also wrote for the "Quarterly Review." I can think of no other free-lance who is so well-known in England as the late Marquis of Salisbury, at least no one who influenced the popular feeling of the time so much as he did. Perhaps Mr. T. P. O'Connor may be bracketted with him.

Now-a-days there are any number of journalists workings as free-lances in England, and their writing are quite known to the ordinary London newspaper reader. Among these the right Hon. G. W. R. Russell, who is an occasional contributor



to the "Daily News and Leader", Mr. Horatio Bottomley of "John Bull", Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes, formerly of the "Daily News and Leader", Mr. Robert Blatchford of "Clarion", Mr. George R. Sims of the "Referee", Mr. Austin Harrison of the "English Review", Mr. James Douglas of "London Opinion", and above all, and incomparably more important than all, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., formerly of "Star", "Sun", and "T. P.'S Weekly", are most famous. They all are very able and clever journalists, and have established a claim to consideration which cannot be denied. Their articles are read all over England, and there is hardly any paper of importance in which their articles do not appear. It will not be off the mark to say that no new paper can last long without the co-operation of one of these free-lances. Take, for example, "Sunday Pictorial" and "Illustrated Sunday Herald", illustrated weekly papers, which came into existence not more than four years ago. As soon as they came into existence, they enlisted the services of Mr. Horatio Bottomley, Mr. Austin Harrison, and Mr. Robert Blatchford. In September 1916 "Sunday Evening Telegraph" came up, and one found Mr. T. P. O'Connor contributing every week to it under the title of "My Week's Reading". The majority of London newspaper readers buy "Sunday Pictorial" every week to read Mr. Horatio Bottomley's weekly article in it, and not to read "Sunday Pictorial." When Mr. Spencer Leigh Hughes, M. P., used to write daily for the "Daily News and Leader" under the title of "Sub Rosa", I knew people in London who regularly bought the paper simply to read his article. But two years ago Mr. S. L. H., to the great disappointment of the reader, cut off his connection with the "Daily News and Leader", to which paper he had regularly contributed for full twenty years without a break. And I know Englishmen who used to buy "Reynold's Newspaper" every week simply to read Mr. T. P. O'Connor's brilliant article in it. And so on. When all of these free-lances are of equal worth and distinction, it is rather difficult to say who is the best and most known of them all, or, in plain words, who stands at the top. But if I were asked to specify, I would, without any hesitation and demur, at once say that Mr. T. P. O'Connor is,

beyond compare, the most capable, the most distinguished, and the most versatile of them all. He is becoming more popular than the late George Augustus Sala of the "Daily Telegraph". He is, in fact, a hero and celebrity in British modern journalism. In the "Spectator" of October 21, 1916, there was given a character sketch of "A Student in Arms" (2nd Lieutenant Donald Hankey who was killed in action in the Somme battle on October 12, 1916) by Mr. Strachey who says he had genius in the true sense—"an inspiring spirit, an invisible flame that burnt in the man like a lamp, a lamp lit by the man of God." This description of Lieutenant Donald Hankey quite fits in with the character sketch of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who is one of the best descriptive writers in modern English journalism. He is an Irishman, a typical Nationalist, and follower of Parnell and Mr. John Redmond, M. P. He was born in 1848, and after taking his Degree at the Dublin University, adopted journalism as his profession, and was connected with the Dublin Press for three years. In 1870 he came to London, and obtained an engagement on the "Daily Telegraph", and was afterwards employed by several other London papers. In 1888 he founded "Star" to support the policy of Gladstone. In many of its features, it is true, it followed American methods of journalism, such as sensational news and scare-heads, but it always contained some admirably written articles. In 1909 he sold "Star" to a syndicate, in which Mr. Cadbury, proprietor of the "Daily News and Leader", held a large share. Later on, in 1893, he started another paper known as the "Sun". It saw many ups and downs, and after thirteen years joined the vast number of lost causes. Mr. T. P. O'Connor has also written many books. In 1876 he published the biography of the late Lord Beaconsfield. It was not very favourably received by the public and the press, and its author was in many quarters blamed for taking an unfavourable view of the late Conservative leader, though praised for his literary ability and research work. Other works from his pen are "The Parnell Movements", "Gladstone's House of Commons", "Some Love Stories" and "Napoleon". In 1880 he got a seat in the House of Commons, and in 1881 he went to America where he stayed for seven months giving lectures



on the Irish cause and collecting money for the Land League in England and Ireland of which he was one of the Executive.

Next to Mr. T. P. O'Connor comes Mr. Horatio Bottomley. There is a vast difference in the character and writings of these two men. They both, no doubt, are distinguished journalists, and fill a larger place in the public eye than any other purveyor of the old or new journalism. But they are as wide apart as the poles. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is a university man, and Mr. Horatio Bottomley owes nothing to any University, but is the product of self-study. It is owing to this difference in their education that the writings of the former are scholarly, essay-like, lucid and pointed, and those of the latter are incisive, full of slang words and phrases, and rough and ready sort of things, and it is due to this that the former's articles find favour with the intellectual reader, and the latter's with the man in the street. The same is the case with their speeches. Both are great speakers. It is on record that Mr. T. P. O'Connor's maiden speech drew from John Bright, who himself was a great orator, not only praise but a wish to be made personally acquainted with the speaker, and it is said that the announcement "Mr. Bottomley is up" used to bring members of the House of Commons from the drinking and smoking room to hear his speech, when he was a member of the House of Commons. But as a speaker Mr. T. P. O'Connor differs from Mr. Horatio Bottomley in this that the former appeals to persuasion, argument and reason, and the latter is a vehement though forcible speaker. There is, in fact, a tremendous moral and mental difference between the two. Mr. T. P. O'Connor's fairness is implicit in all that he says and does. But Mr. Horatio Bottomley has been often described as an opportunist. But this is not all. Mr. T. P. O'Connor is expansive, full of ideas, transmitted by the alchemy of his impressionable Irish nature. He is cool, sober, serious, though keen and sensitive, and not quick-tempered. Mr. Horatio Bottomley is exuberant, flamboyant, and impetuous. He is possessed of a daring temperament. And all this becomes quite clear to one who reads his articles even the first time. There is no extravagance in Mr. T. P. O'Connor's language. There is no attempt at rhetorical effect. But not so with Mr.

Horatio Bottomley, whose language is rather affected and laboured.

Though there are so many free-lances in England, it should not be assumed that this type of journalist is well-paid. The truth is that a free-lance does not flourish in England, where really good writers are attached to one paper or other and exclusively write for that paper. It is only when they come to the tether-end of their journalistic career that they take to free-lancing. But in America a free-lance is very handsomely paid. In England the scope for the talents of a free-lance, unless he is exceptionally clever and very well-known, is rather limited. In the first place, there are papers such as the "Spectator", the "Athenaeum" and the "Saturday Review" which do not accept articles from outsiders, though there are, no doubt, papers open to out-side contributors which set apart a good deal of space every day for contributions from outsiders. Among these may be mentioned the "Daily News and Leader" ("Under the Clock" column), the "Daily Chronicle" ("The Office Window" column), the "Star" ("Mainly about People" column), the "Globe" (the "Turnover" column), the "Daily Telegraph" ("London Day by Day" columns), and the "Westminster Gazette" ("Here, There and Everywhere" columns). Then there are magazines such as "Tit-Bits", "Answers", "Pearson's Weekly", and "Cassell's Saturday Journal" which ask for contributions from outsiders on some topic of interest, provided the articles are fresh, bright and light, and do not exceed 1500 words in length. And there are papers such as the "Daily Mail" and the "Graphic" which are partial to outsiders. Despite all this, I must say, and I have found it by personal experience, that there is very little hope for a free-lance to make a really decent living in England unless he is clever above the average, as the great Indian free-lance Saint Nihal Singh is. But he is an exception, and one should not go by his example. He has a very remarkable knack for the presentment of facts, and the criticism of men and events. His articles are always full of fresh and new ideas. They radiate in spirit. They glow with manly virtue. In a word, they sparkle with the salt of personality. And why? Because they are not the outcome of book-lore, but are the product of contact with actualities.



## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE REFORM SCHEME

THE report on Indian constitutional reforms covers nearly 250 closely written pages and its perusal constitutes in itself a liberal education in politics. With few exceptions it breathes a spirit of liberality. The statement of the case hardly leaves anything for Indian politicians to add, though in the chapter on "The conditions of the Problem," in describing the difficulties in the way of India attaining or obtaining full responsible government, the authors seem for the most part to be unaware of or to deliberately ignore the fact that similar conditions and difficulties obtained, to a greater or less extent, in fully self-governing countries in times past when they began first to exercise the full rights of self-government, and that some of these difficulties or conditions obtain in some of the foremost States of the West even at the present day, e.g.—to take only one instance—"Austro-Hungary is a great State, though they speak twentyfour languages in the Austrian army." (Morley's *Politics and History*, 1914). We begin to differ in a marked manner when we come to the actual proposals, which, after all, are the real core of the report. Nevertheless, the enunciation of political facts and principles by the two supreme heads of the existing government of India has a value and authority all its own, in spite of the fact that the generality of British statesmen and politicians have never erred on the side of illiberality and niggardliness in laying down the principles which ought to govern British rule in India, though the practice has seldom been in accord with them. The report speaks of the more spacious days to come (5\*), of the spirit of liberty which is abroad and active (14), pays a well-deserved tribute to the loyalty of the princes and the educated classes (20) and the allegiance of the political leaders (22); it dwells on the new sense of self-esteem and the emphasis on self-determination (22-3), the growth of the Hindu-Moslem *entente* (27), the failure of the Govern-

ment, in the face of growing national feeling in India, to think out and to work out a policy of continuous advance (33), the subtler springs of action which lie in the mental development of a people (35), and the incompatibility of official with popular control (50). "Responsibility is the savour of popular government, and that savour the present councils wholly lack. We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it. They must have real work to do: and they must have real people to call them to account for their doing of it" (81). Then the report goes on to speak of the necessity of the demolition of the existing fabric (102), how the exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it (130 and 187), of the poverty of India (132 and 135), the creditable work done in the political, social and educational spheres by the *intelligentsia* (139-40), and observes that "the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses is not the soil on which Indian nationhood will grow, and that in deliberately disturbing it we are working for its highest good" (144). Representative institutions will soften the rigour of the caste system, and make reform possible in regard to obnoxious social customs which are being perpetuated and stereotyped under an autocratic administration (152). The spirit of liberty is stirring in Asia (145), and the new ideas have spread in the native states, for 'hopes and aspirations may overleap frontier lines as sparks across a street' (157). The report recognises that the advance of the ryot will come through previous failure (146), that popular government will promote education and other improvements (158), that efficiency may be too dearly bought at the price of moral inanition (156), that the power of veto is tolerable only when rarely used (171), that the present machinery of government no longer meets the needs of the time (178), that the desire for self-government is the inevitable result of western education (179), that there is a keen demand for professional and technical education as part of the remarkable

\* The references are to the paragraphs of the Report.



awakening of national consciousness and that failure to find employment for the educated classes is one of the facts lying at the root of the unrest (182); the educated Indian's ardent desire for social and public service is admitted (183-85), and the report proceeds to point out that education without opportunities must result in mischief (187), that communal representation perpetuates class distinctions, stereotypes existing relations and is opposed to the teaching of history as a factor of self-government (228-31), that nominated members are an anomaly in a responsible council (232), that territorial redistribution on a linguistic or racial basis by the consent of the people should be one of the earliest duties incumbent upon the reformed provincial governments (246). The bureaucracy is no longer sufficient to administer India (265); delays in giving effect to promised reforms is one of the root causes of discontent (266-67); the bureaucracy owes no duty to the public, but only to its conscience or rather to its successors in office [cf. Ramsay Macdonald: 'It has no machinery for self-criticism.'] (270); parliamentary control must diminish *pari passu* with the growth of responsibility (291); the weakness of Indian public life lies in the absence of a body of trained administrators and the success of the new policy will depend on the extent to which Indians are introduced into every branch of the administration (313); "we are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services: we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing" (324); a considerable number of army commissions should be given to Indians—"it is not merely enough to assert a principle: we must act on it" (330);\* industrial domination is more insidious than political domination (331); India's foreign trade consists of the barter of raw materials for imported manufactures "which obviously afforded profits and prosperity to other countries industrially more advanced. Patriotic Indians might well ask themselves why these profits should not accrue to their country" (332).

\* The recent grant of King's Commissions in a few cases and the proposals thereanent can only be acceptable in the sense of being the recognition of a principle so long kept at arm's length; a substantial concession, however, it is decidedly not, as the number of officers appointed is a mere drop in the ocean.

"On all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for, not merely to give India economic stability; but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to government service or a few overstocked professions; in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community; and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends, and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them" (336).

There must be a marked advance of the technical services of the country (339); the educated Indian ardently desires a protective tariff, as he believes that as long as the government continues to decide the fiscal policy for him it will decide in the interests of England (342); the duty of British commerce in India is 'to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community' (344). Lastly, the need of a progressive change of spirit in the control of provincial by the imperial and of the latter by the home government is pointed out, as states on the way to self-government cannot be controlled by a purely autocratic power (350 and 351), and a picture of the India of the future is thus drawn:

"Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of states, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire" (349).

The same constitution is outlined in paras 120 and 300.

"In so far as Indian dissatisfaction arises from the machinery of government having become out of date; from disappointment at what are wrongly (?) regarded as broken promises; from comparative exclusion from the higher public service; from comparative impotence in the legislative councils; from withholding of responsibility for any portion of the work of government—we hope that in all these respects our reforms will supply the remedy" (347).

As for the transfer of complete responsibility, no time is unfortunately fixed in the report, and all we have is that we are to attain it "where we can and as early as we can and we intend that its attainment



should depend upon the efforts of the Indian people themselves" (264). Some lines in the previous paragraph may however be construed to suggest that in some provinces at least complete responsible government will be set up after ten years.

If the ignorance of the people and specially of women (184), racial cleavages (132), and some other matters of the same kind are referred to here and there in the report, this is done in no unkindly spirit. Take for example the following :

"Self-government for India within the Empire is the highest aim which her people can set before themselves, or which we as trustees\* for her, can help her to attain. Without it there can be no fulness of civic life, no satisfaction of the natural aspirations which fill the soul of every self-respecting man. The vision is one that may well lift men up to resolve on things that seemed impossible before. Is it too much to hope that the desire of the people of India to govern themselves, and the conviction that they can never do so otherwise in any real sense, may prove eventually to be the solvent of these difficulties of race and creed? The first duty of the leaders of every party in the state is to unteach partisanship. If the Hindu or the Muslim displays intolerance of the other's religious practices, if the higher castes refuse to admit the children of low castes to schools which their own sons attend or if caste exclusiveness takes even harsher shape towards the outcasts, it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are only retarding a cause that ought to be dearer to them than their own sectional interests" (151).

In para 140 the relations between the educated Indians and the masses are dwelt upon, and it is recognised that "the old assumption that the interests of the ryot must be confided to official hands is strenuously denied by modern educated Indians." "The greatest of all delusions," truly says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his *Awakening of India*, "under which our officials live is that whilst they are distrusted by the professional and educated classes, they are regarded by the uneducated villagers as their friends and protectors." The report makes no such mistake.† The recent debate

in the Bengal Legislative Council on the misery of the jute cultivators and the stupendous profits of the millowners is the last of many instances in which the representatives of the educated classes have taken up the cause of the poor cultivator against official opposition. In para 149 the duty of the educated classes towards the ryot is pointed out.

"It is indeed plain that there is an immense work of education to be done throughout the countryside. Everything that tends to waken the Indian ryot's intelligence, that helps him to be an independent, self-determining man, everything that breaks down the barriers between communities, and makes men regard each other as neighbours, and not as the wearers of some caste or creed insignia, hastens on the day when self-government within the Empire will be attained. All this is work that the educated Indian can, and ought to, undertake" (149).

The above brief outline omits all reference to the suggestions made in the report about the native states, and also to all detailed proposals regarding the constitution of local, provincial and imperial councils, and periodic parliamentary commissions (which, by the way, would be one of the most excellent features\* of the scheme if only the liberty to make reactionary proposals were not permitted to them in para 261), and indeed all other practical proposals. Whether the scheme detailed in the report is 'one of the greatest political experiments ever tried in history,' (198) or not, the future only will decide. It will depend very much on the spirit in which it is worked out. But it is due to its authors to say that it undoubtedly raises them from what Torrens, in his *Empire in Asia*, called "policemanship" which considers its whole duty to consist in reducing the country 'to the approved condition of dull and stagnant quietude,'

\* On this point opinions differ as poles asunder. The Bengal Provincial Conference Committee's Report on Reform Proposals concludes with the following paragraph:

#### "XI. PERIODIC COMMISSIONS : A PROTEST."

"There is, however, one other matter which cannot be passed over. This is the proposal of periodic Commissions, upon whose decision will depend the future advance of political freedom and national autonomy in India. We enter an emphatic protest against this proposal, as conceived in mistrust, and preferred on the assumption of India's incapacity to determine the course of her own evolution. This must go; and definite provision be made in the proposed Parliamentary statute for the automatic advance of India to full and complete self-government within the empire, within a definite period of time. This is essential in the interests of India and the empire alike."

\* Cf. President Wilson's declaration that he is one of those who do not believe in the theory of trusteeship or guardianship. The italics in this quotation are ours.

† This praise does not seem to be quite justifiable. Paragraph 155 of the Report contains the following passage: "Tell it is complete he [the ryot] must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is; and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests, we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes."—(Italics ours.) Editor, M. R.



to the nobler and more elevated regions of statesmanship, which alone can make India permanently conciliated, and prosperous and happy.\*

The future destiny of India, or rather of the British in India, has occupied many minds among English political thinkers. Just one century ago, a predecessor of Lord Chelmsford, the Marquess of Hastings, wrote in his private journal under date the 17th May 1818 :

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.

Macaulay expressed sentiments similar to the above in his reply in the House of Commons to Lord Ellenborough, who had declared (1833) that "our very existence depended upon the exclusion of the natives from military and political power." In language burning with indignation and fired with eloquence, Macaulay said :

"The path of duty is plain before us, and it is the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour. . . . It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."

As British rule in India became more and more secure from internal and external danger, these generous sentiments were forgotten, but now and then some qualms of conscience would arise, and Englishmen who had devoted some attention to the subject would try to peer into the future and read its secrets. There is, for instance, the extreme view of men like Meredith Townsend, who says : "The English think

they will rule India for many centuries or for ever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the empire which came in a day will disappear in a night" (*Asia and Europe*). Professor Seeley, who holds that "subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration," and that "if there could arise in India a nationality-movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English Power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once," was nevertheless of opinion that "as time passes, it rather appears that we are in the hands of a Providence which is greater than all statesmanship, that this fabric which has been so blindly piled up has a chance of becoming a part of the permanent edifice of civilisation....." (*Expansion of England*). Keir Hardie thought that "repression will only intensify their i.e., the Indian people's) determination to secure self-government, and may lead finally to the loss of what has been described as the brightest jewel of the British crown" (*India*). Mr. Ramsay Macdonald concludes his book (*The Awakening of India*) with the words : "We cannot keep her (India) back. Her destiny is fixed above our will, and we had better recognise it and bow to the inevitable." Mr. C. Delisle Burns thinks that there is "no way out of the difficulty which does not imply either the complete dissolution of the connection between England and the constituent 'dependent' nations of the present Empire or an admission of these nations sooner or later to political equality" (*Political Ideals*). The best-known of Burma Civilian, Fielding Hall, solemnly declares that "the time is coming when, unless we can go hand in hand with her (the Indian Empire) along her path to nationhood, she will desert us. Her destiny is calling her ; shall we keep her back ? We cannot keep her back. No one can be more wise than destiny" (*The Passing of Empire*). Mr. Sidney Low, in answer to the question, what is to be the future of India ? What will our own position be in the coming time ? says that 'great changes are likely to pass over India before this century has grown from childhood to middle age,' but adds that "it does not follow that we need fear it, or that it will be fatal to our political predominance—so

\* While we do not call in question the general correctness of this observation so far as the form of the proposals goes, we cannot forget that in the report "peace and order and good government" or in other words, *policeman'ship*, has been made the dominant factor in the scheme.—Editor, M. R.



long as our military strength remains unimpaired, and so long as we retain control of the supreme administration. That, it must be remembered, is the ultimate source of our power" (*A Vision of India*). And Mr. Low proceeds to cite the analogy of the Manchus, who, an alien official colony like the English, had the threads of the administration of China in their hands. The analogy was unfortunate, for the Manchus have been dethroned, and as for military strength, "the minds of India's peasant soldiery who have returned from abroad will never again work quite in the old way" (para 146 of the Report). Nevertheless, Mr. Montagu's scheme seems to proceed along the lines adumbrated by Mr. Low, for while provincial autonomy has been allowed some scope, "pending development of responsible government," in all matters which it (the Government of India) judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government, it must, saving only for its accountability to Parliament, retain indisputable power" (para 266). The absolute power which both the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors retain in their hands under the new scheme on the strength of this magical formula of 'peace, order and good government', proves the truth of Lord Morley's aphorism: "The best syllogism is swept down by trumpet-blasts of Public Safety, Social Order, and other fair names for a Reign of Terror" (*Politics and History*). The Supreme Government will continue to be frankly autocratic, and this is the most discouraging part of the scheme.

The Report does not indeed spring any surprise on us, as the Anglo-Indian press is apt to suppose. The reforms were inevitable if England was to retain its hold on the mind of India and Mr. Montagu's scheme errs on the side of caution rather than the contrary. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald foresaw that 'Lord Morley has planted seeds, the fruit of which is parliamentary government.' The authors of the present scheme say the same thing in somewhat more guarded language. According to them, Lord Morley's reforms "constitute a decided step forward on a road leading at no distant period to a stage at which the question of responsible government was bound to present itself" (para 79). Mr. Gladstone, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1877, observed:

"Our title to be there (in India) depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

Macaulay said in 1833:

"We shall never consent to administer the 'pousta' to a whole community, to stupify and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control."

The present scheme may be said to be the outcome of a sincere desire to bridge the chasm which separates the two principles of governing India alluded to above, and thus to falsify the prophesy of General Gordon that India would never be reformed until she was in the throes of another revolt.

The crucial test by which all proposals of reform are to be judged is whether they will or will not help to carry India towards responsible government (para 228). Responsible government is thus defined in para 189: "Our objective [in the provincial Governments] is the realization of responsible Government. We understand this to mean first, that the members of the Executive Government should be responsible to, because capable of being changed by, their constituents; and, secondly, these constituents should exercise their power through the agency of their representatives in the assembly."

Judged by this test, the provincial governments, in which alone responsible government of some sort is sought to be attained, will, at their inception, have little or no element of responsibility in them, because the Governor will have the power to refuse assent to the proposals of his Indian ministers (219), who will be chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the council and not by the elected members themselves (222), the Governor will also have the power to dissolve the legislative council at will, all provincial legislation will require the assent of the governor, Governor-General, and the Secretary of State (254), the budget cannot be altered by the council except when the Governor consents to such alteration (256), the Indian minister's salary will not from the beginning, but only after five years' time, be voted annually by the legislature, and the government of India will have the power of retransferring transferred subjects (260). A detailed criticism of the proposals on



these points does not come within the scope of this paper. This perplexing feature of many of the proposals, which are so generous in theory and yet are in fact hedged in by so many limitations, would be really inexplicable but for the fact that the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had to satisfy people at home that the concessions they were going to make were not, after all, revolutionary in character. When Lord Sydenham attacked Mr. Montagu's announcement of August 20 in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon, speaking on behalf of the Government said apologetically:

"The noble viscount might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been in the pronouncement any definite drawing up of a programme, any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of a principle."

That is to say, he advised Lord Sydenham to wait and see how far the proposals actually went and not to be carried away merely by the language in which the announcement was couched, for unless they were of a far-reaching character, he might find no reason to object to them at all. Lord Curzon knew what an eminent ex-Viceroy, Lord Lytton, had said regarding the breaking to the heart the words of promise the governments of England and India had repeatedly uttered to the ear of the people of India, and he had no reason for thinking that what had happened before might not happen again. The authors of the Reform Scheme had to work with the Sydenhamites constantly in mind, and hence they had to cut short their liberal principles whenever the question of *real* responsibility came up for consideration. That, under the circumstances, their scheme marks on the whole a distinct advance on the old order of things stands entirely to their credit.

At the back of Lord Sydenham are retired bureaucrats and others, and they are supplied with facts and figures, and perhaps also the sinews of war, by their supporters and sympathisers in India. This brings us to the crux of the situation—can the bureaucracy change its spots? Hitherto the bureaucracy has been omnipotent, and under the new dispensation also, they will wield considerable powers. Two of them are to have the ear of the governor as additional members possessing official experience (para 220); they will continue, as now, to sit on the provincial

as well as the imperial executive councils, and they may even become Governors of provinces (161). In Chapter XI of the Report the Civil Service has been very handsomely dealt with in the matter of pay, leave and pension. Only thirty-three per cent of the superior posts have been thrown open to the natives of India, though in para 313 there is a hint that the services are to be 'substantially Indian in personnel by the time that India is ripe for responsible government.' How far the proposals vary from the generous intentions thus expressed will appear from the fact that if only 33 per cent of the superior posts are recruited in India from now then it will take nearly twenty-five years before 33 per cent of the total strength of the service come to be held by Indians, so that the dream of a substantial Indian personnel will hardly be realised within the lifetime of any Indian just born. The posts of Assistant Judges and Assistant Collectors are treated as 'inferior' posts, though they carry large emoluments and considerable powers. Their exclusion from consideration, in calculating the proportion of posts eligible to Indians, has been shown by the Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal in the Public Services Commission Report to be altogether unfair to the Indians. An assurance is given to the Civil Service that "so long as the Empire is charged with the defence of India, a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in the Government and in her public services" (323), and they are told that though for them "life will indeed be more difficult, it will not be less worthy. It is harder to convince than to direct; to prevail in consultation than to enforce an order.....the increasing sharing of responsibility is a higher order of work than administration" (327). Though the bureaucracy is thus adjoined, we cannot forget what one of them has said in his remarkable book on *Bureaucratic Government*: "Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress" (Bernard Houghton). "Nationalism will have to contest every foot of its advance with the service" (Ramsay MacDonald). The electoral rules framed under the Morley-Minto scheme are so grossly unfair to the Hindus that they "give support to



a suspicion that sinister influences have been at work, that the Mahomedan leaders were inspired by certain Anglo-Indian officials, that these officials pulled wires at Simla and in London and of malice aforethought sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities by showing the Mahomedans special favour" (Ramsay Maedonald, *Awakening of India*). "And who that has watched bureaucracy at close quarters," wrote Lord Morley in 1914 in his *Politics and History*, "will deny that it is in fact more cumbrous, dilatory, and depressing for a people's political energy—and not less so to those who work it—than discussion in a legislative assembly, which is the salutary substitute." Already the cry has gone forth that non-Brahmins and other communities require special representation, just like the Mahomedans. Although Hindus have repeatedly elected Mahomedans in the municipal and legislative councils, the champions of the forces of reaction do not even suggest a common voting register, the proportion of the representatives of the different communities being fixed. That would at least leave the door partially open for a sense of national unity to grow up.\*

The object of those who have taken up the cry of special electorates is clearly to wreck the scheme, as Lord Ripon's and Lord Morley's schemes were wrecked, and it is a thousand pities that prominent Indians like Dr. Nair have been found to support a proposal which is opposed in the best interests of Indian national evolution with a convincing wealth of

\* In the Viceroy's recent speech (September 4) at Simla, His Excellency says that while in his opinion communal representation is inevitable in the present circumstances of India he is frankly doubtful whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. The entire question, however, is left in the hands of the committee shortly to be appointed.—Sept. 6, 1918.

"I could quote numerous cases," says Keir Hardie (*India*), "to show that people of different castes and creeds unite at elections to secure the return of non-sectarian members to all elective positions..... Hindus were voting for and returning Mohammedans [at Benares]. The same thing is to be found all over the Country.....The talk about caste and creed in this connection is greatly exaggerated, and if it is desired to break down caste prejudices the best method is to give the people some form of popular representation in connection with which they would be compelled to work together as citizens for the common good."

reasoning by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in paras 225-32 of their Report. A famous civilian, Fielding Hall, says that "there is throughout all English officials (and non-officials) in India not only a disregard of facts about them [Indians] but a want of any real sympathy with the people among whom they live, which is astonishing." Whatever knowledge he acquires is of the people's faults and not of their virtues." Unfortunately the British public take interest in only what happens to the Civil Service, and is more convulsed by any proposal affecting its prospects and recruitment than by any other Indian question. Consequently it is very difficult to reduce its strength and influence, or make it amenable to Indian opinion. Professor Seeley says :

"Only once, I think, namely in 1783, has India come quite into the foreground of parliamentary debate and absorbed the attention of the political world. Even in the Mutiny of 1857, deeply as our feelings were stirred, the course of home politics was not affected by the affairs of India..... The old question which had convulsed England in 1783 and which statesmen had been afraid to touch since, the question who should have the patronage of India or how it should be dispensed with without shaking the constitution of England, was in this way solved" [in 1853, by the introduction of the system of appointment into the Civil Service by competitive examination].

The resolution on simultaneous examinations in India and England though passed by the House of Commons in 1893 was never carried out and was treated as a dead letter, so powerful are the interests of the bureaucracy in Great Britain, and no wonder, for most British middle class families have one or more members serving out in India. In answer to the Congress-League proposal to appoint members of the Executive Council only from among men trained in the public life of England, the authors of the report were compelled to say: "We have to take into account the effect upon the services of excluding them from such positions" (161). The history of Indian political progress has convinced us that till the bureaucracy is ended, the most generous schemes for the political advancement of India are sure to be whittled down in actual working to something very different from what was intended by their originators, and our fears in that respect are already being justified by the artificial agitation set up in both England and



India in favour of communal representation through special electorates.\*

That our misgivings are shared by the liberal party in England will appear from the following extract, taken from the *London Nation*:

"Mr. Montagu has produced the boldest and most statesmanlike effort in construction that the Empire has seen in our generation. Big as it is, however, we certainly do not think that it goes too far. (Italics ours). Our only doubt about it is indeed whether the older generation of Indian officials has elasticity of mind enough to adapt itself to the new era. Only a very exceptional man, after a life spent with autocratic powers as an administrator, will have imagination enough to become the loyal colleague of Indian ministers responsible to an Indian Assembly. The scheme presupposes as the condition of its success the defeat and disappearance of deeply-rooted traditions of racial ascendancy. We believe in its success, for to admit the possibility of failure would be to despair of the possibility of a Liberal Empire."

In paras 315 and 316, racial discrimination in public service is said to be done away with. But as Mr. Chaubal pointed out in his minute of dissent in the Report of the Public Services Commission, *the fixing of a percentage is in itself a departure from the principle of the statute of 1833 and the Queen's proclamation advocating racial equality*. The 'keen intelligence and the apt capabilities of India' were admitted in King Edward's proclamation of 1908, but a percentage is nevertheless thought necessary with a view to maintain 'the characteristics which we have learnt to associate with the Indian public services' and prevent their whole character from suffering a rapid deterioration (314). *If this is not racial discrimination it is difficult to understand what is so, for it presumes the exclusive possession of certain qualities by a particular race which monopolises the higher public services in India*. The whole truth about

\* It should not be forgotten that our enemies are successful in fomenting strife because of our own social sins. That the present movement against Brahmins has been gathering head for some time will appear from the following written some years ago: "The outcast himself is beginning to question his position. The Brahmin has behaved brutally to him, and he is allowing himself now to hate the Brahmin. Round the privileged castes a flood of resentment is silently rising, and it will rise much more quickly as elementary education spreads in India. This explains why there have been some remarkable demonstrations of the outcasts against the Nationalist movement. To many of them Indian Nationalism means Brahminism, and they look to Great Britain for their emancipation."—*Awakening of India*, by Ramsay Macdonald.

the matters was succinctly put by Keir Hardie in the following lines: "When Indian can meet European as a fully enfranchised equal, and compel that respect which is his due, then, and not before, will race prejudice begin to die out and finally to disappear." In the Native States the relations between the two races are much more cordial, because there the Englishmen do not regard the people as "subjects" and their natural arrogance is thus kept in check. The Criminal Procedure Code itself sets the seal of its approval on these distinctions and it is idle to urge, in support of our demand for social equality, the fitness of Indians, or to point out that according to Professor Thorold Rogers (*British Citizen*) a century ago there was only one man in ten and one woman in twenty in England who could even read and write, to refer to other facts of the same kind. So long as we are not fully the peers of Englishmen in our own land, vested with full rights of citizenship, the prejudice will manifest itself, unconsciously if not consciously, in a thousand different ways, even among the officials in spite of what the report has said in para 346 to justify in a measure the European attitude in regard to what it terms the social grievance. Take, for instance, the judgments delivered by the Hon'ble judges of our highest courts of justice, and reported in the various law reports. An Englishman, either a party or a witness has almost invariably the prefix 'Mr.' affixed to his name, whereas the similar courtesy-title of 'Babu' is almost as invariably denied to the Indian, unless he happens to be an official or an exceptionally well-known man. An enquiry as to how many European Judges of the High Court care to return the visits of their Indian colleagues is likely to result in some interesting disclosures. The whole country calls Mr. Tilak 'Lokamanya' which means revered of the people, but in the semi-official Anglo-Indian press there is none so poor as to do him reverence with a plain 'Mr.' They would not dare to omit this courtesy in the case of the most rabid Radical publicist of England. Indian Judges of the High Court have to date their decrees 'in the year of our Lord 19—.' The very State Railways sometimes distinguish between 'gentlemen' and 'Indians' in their signboards. Under the shadow of



the Government House in Calcutta, on the Red Road and in the Eden Gardens, Indians in indigenous drapery are sometimes subjected to treatment which to a Molluselite at least, does not indicate any keenness on the part of the authorities to remove racial discrimination in actual practice. These are small matters, but they show the official attitude, which may be described as one of perfect indifference. Take, again, the case of the frequent gubernatorial pronouncements in which we are lectured like so many schoolboys as to what to think and how to act, and how to train up our boys, while nowhere in these speeches is it ever admitted that there is good ground for our discontent, and bureaucratic infallibility is taken for granted. Even to an arm-chair student of politics like the writer, who has never joined any political agitation, these speeches seem so utterly sickening that he cannot but deplore that high-placed officials do not feel it inconsistent with their dignity and self-respect to assume the hectoring tone they invariably fall into. If they had to face their audience as man to man in a free country, they could hardly have dreamt of delivering themselves in this manner. The tone of superiority which they, unconsciously to themselves, often assume, manifests itself in grosser forms in Europeans lower down the scale, and the offence in the two cases differs only in degree, not in kind. Had the provincial rulers an Indian secretary whose absence so surprised Keir Hardie when he visited India, they might have been preserved much of the bad taste they are sometimes led to display, perhaps unintentionally, in these and similar matters. However much our rulers may try, the days are past beyond recall when they could convince us that we are not yet fit for self-government, that our political aspirations are wrong, that some of our young men, though misguided, are radically vicious, that the harsh and oppressive measures adopted towards them are justified and are not calculated to crush all nobility of sentiment in them, that they would not improve under a more generous treatment such as a national government would surely have accorded to them, that our police is perfect and its statements are to be taken as gospel truth, that the "lawless laws" empowering detention and deportation and restricting the powers of

appeal are just and expedient, that all the detenus are guilty, even in the official sense, or that we have not good cause to be soured against bureaucratic rule, though it is foolish and sinful to hope to redress our grievances by anarchist plots. Our rulers may point out the flaws in our social system, and draw our attention to other defects in our national character, such as want of backbone, force of will and enterprise, and to our slavery to customs, prejudices and superstitions that hamper our progress, and they will be listened to with respect, at least by the better minds of the community, provided they do so *not* with the motive of perpetuating their own political domination but from a genuine desire to see us take the high place among nations to which we are entitled by our natural intelligence and abilities; and such advice will only come with a good grace, and have the chance of bearing fruit, if it proceeds from those of our imperial and provincial satraps or ex-satraps who have demonstrated their sincerity by helping forward, to the best of their powers, "the intense desire of educated Indians to prove that their long period of tutelage may be ended and that they may take their place in the forefront of the world as a self-governing part of the Empire" (para 145 of the Report).

"The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers" (256).

The arrangement here chalked out is entirely unsatisfactory in so far as it leaves the Indian ministers to undertake the burden of fresh taxation and face the music of public criticism and discontent, leaving the members of the Executive Council free to draw upon the revenues as heavily as they like. 'It must be remembered that the transferred services are generally those which stand in greater need of development' (255), and this makes the injustice of the arrangement all the more glaring. In the Report it is complained that in pressing for expenditure on education and sanitation, which are likely to be foremost among the transferred subjects (187), Indian members of the Council did not always consider where the money was to come from (17), or 'how far fresh



taxation for educational improvement would be acceptable' (187). It is admitted by almost all publicists that taxation in India has very nearly reached its limit.

"The amount of taxes raised direct from the peasant is from 50 per cent. to 65 per cent. of the value of the yield of the land, in addition to which they have to pay local cesses and various other small items, so that probably not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest goes in taxes... From time to time the revenue charges are revised so that the Government may obtain the last penny which can be wrung from the over-weighted peasant. Increases of 30 per cent. are common, and there are many on record of 50, 70, and even 100 per cent. It is this fact which keeps the people of India in a condition of perpetual, hopeless, grinding poverty." (*India*, by Keir Hardie).

The report itself says that 'there is no great margin of taxable capacity' among the peasant classes (332). This is the reason why the Indian army has had to be kept so long at its present (supposed) insufficient strength. Sir T. W. Holderness of the India Office in his *Peoples and Problems of India* says that the ratio of one British soldier to two Indians is fundamental [observe the distrust manifest here]; the British element in the army in India is expensive; and without an increase in the British troops employed in India there can be no increase in the total strength of the regular army in India.

"Behind all the special administrative problems is the fundamental problem of insufficient revenues..... every farthing subtracted from incomes as small as those of the masses of the Indian population is seriously felt..... The Indian government is thus on the horns of a dilemma. The field of administrative reforms and material progress is unlimited; the field of taxation is very restricted."

The military expenditure before the war used to be one shilling per head of the population, the expenditure on education being about one pence and a half per head. The necessity for greatly increased educational expenditure is therefore apparent. And after the war, the Indian army will certainly not be reduced in strength—rather the contrary. The Indian ministers will not be at liberty to find the money for education by economy in the reserved subjects, by cutting down lavish official salaries and establishments\* among other

\* "Leaving out of account such large questions as that of military expenditure, nobody who has seen India and the conditions of Indian government will deny that there is great extravagance. The European Service is extravagant, the conditions under which it rules are extravagant, the cost of Simla, Ootacamund and other hill stations is extravagant, the expenditure on official residences and other paraphernalia is extravagant."—*Awakening of India* by

things, but will have to court unpopularity and spread discontent and jeopardise the success of the reform scheme by imposing new taxes, and this is hardly fair to persons who shall moreover have no administrative experience to fall back upon nor enjoy the status of members of the Executive Council.

In a fine passage already quoted (para 151) self-government is truly spoken of as the solvent of social and racial problems. On this point we take the following from Fielding Hall, who had experience of conditions in Madras, and make a present of it to Dr. Nair, now the leader of the non-Brahmin movement.

"It is a piece of advice often addressed to India when she expresses a desire for some share in her government that she should first reform herself socially and intellectually... 'Mind your divisions first and we will see what we can do.' Such advice comes from ignorance alone. It is but another instance of the Phariseism that has become so common with us. It is impossible for individuals to reform themselves, however much they may wish to do so. For an individual to reform, his whole environment must be reformed as well... Why? Because to break fetters bound upon society by religion or convention takes the combined effort of society, and even then it is difficult. The inertia of peoples is a deadly difficulty to overcome. But we have not allowed the collective instinct any opportunity of developing..... self-governing institutions do tend to remove them (differences created by races, religions, castes).

In the village communal life they are to a considerable extent ignored... Solidarity comes from the sense of necessity for solidarity in order to get on. Its possibility is soon manifest..... to the development of self-government the effacement of these divisions, would be necessary, and in the pursuit of an eagerly coveted ideal they could pass and disappear. No other influence can do it. Again history shows this clearly. It was this influence in England that rendered Catholic emancipation possible and had brought creeds politically together. Did we in England live still under an aristocracy as we did a hundred years ago the divisions between Catholic and Protestant, Churchman and Dissenter, Christian and Agnostic, would still be as sharp as they were. These artificial barriers of creed and race give way only under the pressure of a national life."

We shall bring these rambling observations to a close by making one suggestion. The announcement of August 20 is said to mark the end of one epoch and the beginning of a new one (para 7), calling for a new policy (178), differing in kind and not merely in degree from the old (9). At such

Ramsay Macdonald. Elsewhere he says that "the first step necessary to put the Indian expenditure on a sound footing is the appointment of an Auditor-General who will be directly responsible to the India Office, or, better still, to the House of Commons itself." There is no such provision in the Report, though Mr. Gokhale strenuously pleaded for it.



a time it is not, we hope, improper to point out that India is yet without a national flag of its own. The federal constitution is foreshadowed for India (120, 300, 319), of which the United States of America is the most up-to-date model. These States have, we believe, their distinctive flags for each State, the stars and stripes, representing the national flag, flying over all. Japan has her Rising Sun. Why should we not have a visible emblem of our nationality, round which our love of country might grow, calling forth our noblest efforts? "In proportion as self-government develops patriotism in India, we may hope to see the growth of a conscious feeling of organic unity with the Empire as a whole" (180). To foster this imperial feeling, the national flag may be so designed as to combine the Union Jack (*should this also be the case with the Colonies*) with some distinctive device representing India as a whole. The design should of course be submitted to the people's representatives for approval. In the same way, provincial flags would symbolise and promote local patriotism. No doubt it is the people who make the flag

great and honoured and not *vice versa*, and the flag is only the tangible expression of a political sentiment, but every country in the world, ancient or modern, has or had a flag, and there is no reason why India, 'in the more spacious days to come', should continue to be the only exception. From the military point of view also, the usefulness of a national flag to the Indian army is apparent. The same reasons apply in the case of a national anthem. Bengal is rich in patriotic songs, but there is no song which is accepted by all India as an equivalent to the national anthems of other countries. The language of the song must be either Hindi or Hindustani, in order to be in use all over British India, and among all classes and creeds. India's newborn sense of self-respect demands that she should no longer be without either a national flag or a national anthem, and it is up to the authorities, who under the new order of things will be more and more representative of her wishes and aspirations, to meet this natural and legitimate demand.

August 19, 1918.

X.

## ENCIRCLED WITH GOLDEN LIGHT

### A MEDITATION

BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.

"In the innermost recess of the soul, encircled with golden light, dwells God the Undeiled and Undivided."

**G**OD, who is the indweller and the household God of every one of us, is the inner soul of our souls.

Only those who see Him dwelling in the soul see Him in truth. Those who seek Him within never seek Him in vain.

In the world outside we cannot see Him altogether near. His image is reflected in the outer universe, but His essence can only be realised in the soul.

There He is manifested as truth, wisdom, infinitude, as the peaceful, the good, the one.

God is manifest in a mother's love, in a brother's affection, in the sacred devo-

tion of a pure and loving wife. But in the innermost recess of the soul, encircled with golden light, His very essence is revealed, as the Undeiled and Undivided. There in the form of truth, love and immortality He has His dwelling.

The world is His tarnished mirror: but His spotless, undivided beauty is in man's inner spirit. Those who seek Him there never seek Him in vain.

But how is His presence revealed in the inner spirit of man? Some have said that we cannot perceive Him clearly in the same way that we perceive our own bodies and are certain of our own existence.

It is clear to our higher intelligence, that the finite dwells in the infinite, and cannot live if it is separated from its source



and support. When we see a tree with its fruit, flowers, branches and leaves, we know that it has a root, even though the root be hidden in the ground. In the same way, our finite spirits are rooted in the infinite.

When I really know myself, I know that I am a finite being, and that I am encompassed by an infinite Being, in whom and by whom I am upheld. My intelligence is limited on all sides, yet it stretches out towards a boundless Intelligence. My desires are limited and my freedom small, yet I am ruled by a mighty Will and in that infinite Will I find my freedom itself. My devotion and reverence are circumscribed, until they find their fulfilment in the being of eternal Love.

Thus our human spirit is only completed in the Great Spirit. In the supreme, self-existent Spirit of God the finite spirit of man finds its rest. As the spokes of a wheel radiate from the centre, so all beings, persons, spirits, are centred in the Great Spirit.

The human spirit and the divine are so intimately near, that even boundless space cannot separate the one from the other. They are like bosom friends. The one is sheltered, the Other gives shelter. The one enjoys, the Other gives joy.

It may be urged that a man may be a companion of his fellow-men, but that he is too insignificant for the companionship of God. Those who think thus, when they see the Supreme on the one hand and their own littleness on the other, are filled with shrinking fear.

It is true, that if a thing is far away we cannot live with it. But God is so intimately near to us that He is within us; and therefore we can live with Him.

In old times, the great rishis have told us that God was as close to them as the *amalaka* fruit in the grasp of the closed hand. As with their whole hand they could feel the fruit, so with their whole soul they could feel God. So near is He to us, that with the whole soul we can touch Him.

If we are asked what living with God means,—we pray to Him freely with all our hearts and He hears us: we listen to His immortal words of wisdom: when-

ever we speak to Him, He hears us: whenever He speaks to us, we hear Him: we see His face of love: we hear His words: He listens to our prayer,—this is what is meant by living with God.

It is true that in His words there is no sound, yet we can hear them in the silence. For, in this living with God, there is no need of the material senses. As He Himself is formless, and yet all-seeing and all-hearing, so without the use of our eyes and our ears we can see His face and hear Him speak to our souls. This intimacy of touch is living with God.

Furthermore, as without the use of our eyes and our ears we can see and hear Him, so apart from taste we can know His immortal joy. When this joy bedews the soul, it is inexpressible. The instrument of the senses is not needed at all; the life in Him has passed beyond the senses.

That which is external to us in nature and society is the symbol of Himself. The beauty of creation, the good deeds of men, the affection of relatives and friends, are the symbols of His goodness. But His immediate presence is in our inner being. When we see Him there, we understand the meaning of the Upanishad:—

“HIS ESSENCE IS JOY.”

When we know His presence thus, then our human spirit understands that Joy.

God gives us generously His gifts,—the wind, the rain, the sun, the moon. All these are His gifts, freely given. But the joy, which He reveals in the innermost depth of our soul,—there is nothing on earth which can be compared with that!

God manifests to us His gracious countenance in nature: He gives us our affections: He keeps us in the right path. All this is our elementary relationship with Him. But when He gives us His own Joy, then He bestows on us the greatest gift of all, the heritage of His own Immortality.

The wonder of all wonders is, that we can know, here and now, the Good which is beyond all good, the Friend who is beyond all friends, the Perfection which is beyond all perfectness, the Joy which is beyond all joy.

(Translated, with abridgment, from  
the Bengali.)



## TUBERCULOSIS IN CALCUTTA

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**T**UBERCULOSIS follows the wake of every civilisation ancient or modern. Civilisation brings in its train industrial, economic and social changes. It means abandonment of pastoral and agricultural pursuits and taking up of commerce instead. It means the growth of towns and cities with their factories and mills and consequent depopulation of the country and overcrowding of towns, strenuous life and hard competition, late and long hours, dear rents and bad food. People flock into town, the rents are high and accommodation small, so that men and women are compelled to be cooped up in sunless slums. Civilisation creates great wealth and great poverty—wealth for the few and poverty for the many. The wealthy by over-feeding and the poor by under-feeding create inefficiency with low vitality and feeble constitution.

These factors have worked nowhere with greater power for doing harm than at Calcutta, which is complimented as the "City of Palaces", but which really is the city of the world's greatest slums. Even some of the greatest slums of the world, e.g., Glasgow and Manchester compare very favourably with the dark, dingy and uninhabitable bustees of Calcutta. To these conditions of wrong living, which we share in common with other countries, we have the aggravating social customs and ignorance of sanitary laws which favour the spread of infection.

Let us face certain facts. Tuberculosis is certainly fast spreading in Calcutta despite the abundance of tropical sunlight. Let us examine the following table showing the death-rate—general and from Tuberculosis of several important cities in the British dominions.

	(1911-1912) Total Death Rate. per 1000	Tuberculosis Death Rate. per 1000
London	15	1.35
Birmingham	14.1	1.23
Manchester	16.2	1.53

	(1911-1912) Total Death Rate. per 1000	Tuberculosis Death Rate. per 1000
Liverpool	17.7	1.49
Bombay	35.6	.62
Calcutta	21.2	2.3

(The figure for Bombay is very much underestimated and many deaths from Tuberculosis are registered under the heading of respiratory diseases.)

It is evident that Calcutta gets an easy first in the list. The Tubercle bacilli thrive mostly amongst the insanitary surroundings, in the privacy of the Zenanas, in our 'Baithak-khanas', where the careless consumptive spits indiscriminately and uses the same Hookka and the same pans and pots as the others. Considering that preventive medicine and hygiene form very important items in combating disease and death in a community, it is sad to think, that no education or training has yet been able to cure us of such habits of unintentional carelessness—even when such carelessness is criminal. Even now it is not fully realised by the majority of people that in order to avoid infection from Tuberculosis, we ought to obey the ordinary sanitary laws, e.g., destroy the infective sputum.

The Health-Officer for Calcutta writing in his report for 1913 says that the "Number of deaths from phthisis amounts to 2196 as compared with 1931 of the previous year. This is equivalent to a death rate of 2.5 per 1000. This is a very high rate, particularly when we realise that tuberculosis practically caused more deaths than any of the acute infectious diseases, although both plague and cholera were prevalent in an epidemic form. The fact that there has been an almost uninterrupted rise in the returns for the last five years, although partly due to improved methods in the diagnosis, is sufficient to show that urgent necessity for a vigorous campaign against this veritable white plague."



Among Mahomedans, amongst whom the purdah is very strict, over one third of the total death rate is from tuberculosis.

The incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis amongst women is far heavier than amongst men, the former, though forming only 33 per cent. of the population of Calcutta, having 45 per cent. of deaths from phthisis. That is, a rate of 3.3 per 1000, whereas the total death rate from phthisis in both sexes was 2.5 per 1000. The incidence of phthisis amongst women is a very serious affair. Even in 1916, we find that females suffered exactly twice as severely as males from pulmonary tuberculosis, the rates being 1.2 per 1000 for males and 2.6 per 1000 for females. The most regrettable fact and the saddest feature of tuberculosis in Calcutta is that the heaviest mortality rates occur amongst women of child-bearing age, as shown by the following table taken from the Report of the health Officer of Calcutta for 1916.

Age period	Population		Deaths		Rate per 1,000	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-15	43478	24265	10	34	2.3	1.4
15-20	56316	26325	52	121	2.9	4.5
20-30	174951	59983	216	244	1.2	4.0
30-40	133664	45085	241	189	1.8	4.1

It seems almost incredible that five times as many young women of 15 to 20 years of age shall die of tuberculosis as compared with young men of the same age and nearly four times as many women between 20 to 30 years as compared with men of the same age. This high incidence of tuberculosis among women of child-bearing age heavy as it is, has indirect effects on the health of the children they give birth to, being themselves at the time suffering from an incipient stage of tuberculosis. These children are bound to start with a heavy handicap in life's struggle. Moreover when we consider the birth rate and death rate, with these facts before us, the future of the man power of Bengal looks very gloomy indeed. In our calculation we cannot for a moment forget the fact that the census figures with regard to the number of women of child-bearing age include a large number of widows, who, according to the prevailing customs, namely their inability to remarry, are to be left out of count. Unless we realise this danger and take steps immediately, we shall before long find that the death rate figure has left the birth rate far behind it.

With these facts staring at our face let us look back and see what we have done to combat this frightful scourge. Bombay has taken the matter in hand and the King George Anti-tuberculosis League is trying to grapple the problem and we hope we shall soon see the fruits of their activities. In the United Provinces they have established sanatoria in Bhowali and other places but so far nothing has been done in Bengal. It is a standing disgrace that Bengal should be lagging behind while the other provinces should be up and doing.

The excuse that is very often put forward is that Bengal is very unhealthy and that there is no place in Bengal where a properly managed sanatorium could be established. But it is necessary to grasp that climate is not the only thing to be considered in the sanatorium treatment of tuberculosis. Dr. Leon Petit says: "We are now a days convinced that there is no climate however favoured which can cure consumption." There is no climate which is equally suited to every case of phthisis. Dr. Walter says, and says very rightly "It is of greater importance than the climate is the use that is made of it." Consumptives have been cured in most unlikely climates and many things point to the conclusion that fresh air and proper medical supervision are of much greater importance than a fine climate. Sir Robert Philip in his inaugural address delivered on the institution of the chair of tuberculosis in the university of Edinburgh in April 1918 said :

Turning to treatment the prospect is full of hope. The fact is realised that no disease is more tractable than tuberculosis if its character is recognised early. If the disease is taken in hand early tuberculosis is readily managed. The principles of treatment are well defined. The successful application requires not only knowledge and skill but complete reliance on the methods and infinite patience—patience on the doctor's part, patience on the patient's part, and patience on the part of the patient's friend, the inevitable friend who always knows one better than both. One of the difficulties we were up against in the early days was the mistaken view that consumption as it was then called was a disease of the climate. Our forbears looked upon consumption largely as one of the scourges of our climate. With little enquiry as to its frequency elsewhere it was assumed to be dependent on the uncongenial elements, the gray sky, the east wind and the harr from the Forth. The opinion was voiced by the man in the street, by our writers and by our poets. It was expressed with painful bluntness by a distinguished citizen of Edinburgh to whom I went in the hope of enlisting his powerful backing at the commencement



of the committee's work. 'I will gladly' he, said 'contribute all I can to send every poor consumptive soul away from Edinburgh but you will never convince me you can do them any good here.' *"We are happily removed from those days in thought and practice. There is now general recognition of the fact that as tuberculosis occurs everywhere in like manner it may be cured anywhere."*

Dr. Arthur Lathan author of the "Prize Essay on the Erection of the King Edward VII Sanatorium" says in his book on the Diagnosis and Modern Treatment of Pulmonary Consumption.—

*"With regard to the climate and position, I would say at once that most physicians who have had much experience of sanatorium treatment, and who have watched patients for some years after their return from a sanatorium, agree that as far as possible. All patients should be treated under the same climatic conditions as those which they are likely to experience in their subsequent life."*

It must not be concluded that climatic characters are of no value, but rather they are not of paramount importance in most cases. But the principles underlying open air treatment can be carried out in any climate. And when a choice is to be made between placing a patient under good climatic surroundings with little expert medical aid and keeping him in or near a town where such knowledge and skill can be brought to bear: it would be wise to realise the fact, that a good climate plus expert medical skill is an ideal combination rarely attainable, failing which, skill in treatment and good nursing in an otherwise indifferent climate, are likely to be of the greatest help in the treatment of the disease.

In order to wipe out that disgrace on Bengal it is necessary to establish and that as soon as possible, sanatoria or nursing homes where tuberculous cases may be treated in the latest methods with the greatest benefit to the individual and to the community. Of course such institutions cannot come into existence by the dozens all at once. Therefore the first few attempts should be made with the object of relieving a particular class or a set of individuals, where the need is felt most and in whom the greatest good could be expected to achieve. For the purpose of this discourse it is necessary to confine our attention to dwellers in large towns and not to make the issues big by considering the country as a whole.

While the statistics available do not indicate the particular class of people who pay the heaviest toll to this disease, it is

obvious that the community which needs most help is the middle class. The richer and the most fortunate amongst us suffer less as they live under healthiest conditions, breathe purer air and eat more nourishing food, their struggle for existence is less and they naturally suffer little from the evil effects of stress and worry. They probably suffer from surfeit rather than from want. Moreover if they get ill they can afford to get earlier and more expert medical aid, they easily manage to leave the town and dust behind periodically and go for costly tours to healthy places once or twice a year. Such people can manage to do practically all that is needful in case of illness and they do not stand in need of help.

Curiously enough compared to a 'Bhadralok' the working class in a town is better off. These men "are born in the open and sleep in the open," the greater part of the year. If one would care to go down the streets of Calcutta, specially where these men inhabit, at midnight, one would find that it is sometimes difficult to make one's way down the footpath without colliding with several of the sleeping figures. They work heavily (mostly manual), they eat heartily their frugal meals and when they lie down at night they have no harrowing thoughts and worries to keep them awake. When they get ill they go to the ordinary hospitals, they quickly respond to the effects of treatment and regular dietary in these institutions and with their natural power of resistance they shake off their maladies marvellously quickly.

There is a different story to tell when we consider the middle class specially the poorer section of it. They live in thatched houses with perhaps mud floors and walls with small openings or slits as windows—so that sun and air they enjoy little. With big and joint families, they have to live up to their social status, even if it is beyond their means. They must educate their children, bring up their daughters decently and marry them as well as they can afford. The social custom which allows of an early marriage adds to the physical drain due to early child-bearing and it is no wonder that five times as many young women between 15 to 20 and 4 times between 20 to 30 die of tuberculosis as compared to men.

After an early breakfast and the rush



to the office, the "Bhadralok" sits down to close brain work for hours with hardly any tiffin during the day; then fagged with the day's toil he enters his modest dwelling with an office file under his armpit, only to meet half starved family members. Picture the condition when the member of such a family gets ill, or worse still, if the bread winner himself falls a victim to this disease. They cannot afford to have good treatment for any prolonged period in the house, no fresh air, no healthy food, and much as one would like to have, the patient is never kept quiet and alone in his bed to pick up strength and gain vitality while in his house. If it comes to an advice for a change of air, for most people of this class, it is out of the question. All the time let it not be forgotten, that the patient in a crowded room is likely to infect other members of the family, and make the house a hotbed for infection. These men do not care to go to the ordinary hospitals, some for reasons of caste prejudice, others for family reasons. Moreover it is a well known fact that in most hospitals it is as much impracticable as undesirable to take in such cases. Tuberculosis is a disease from which a person suffers for months and years before he gets well or succumbs to it. It is hardly that any ordinary hospital would crowd in their few available beds with such chronic cases, moreover in an ordinary hospital it is undesirable to mix up such cases because they require more individual care in treatment, more attendance and better food than can be provided for in these institutions.

The conclusion is inevitable that the only organised method of relieving men of this class from the onslaughts of such an implacable and determined foe is to provide Sanatoria where treatment in all forms of modern methods could be carried out. It goes without saying that if treatment in such institutions be carried out in a very healthy place it is the ideal method. But the practical point is not to wait for the ideal. In Bengal proper

hardly any place could be considered fit for a sanatorium and therefore should we sit with arms folded? In the words of Sir R. Philip "Tuberculosis is found everywhere and it can be cured anywhere." Therefore let these institutions be situated as close to towns as possible and why: (1) Because most men of this class we are referring to, can afford to keep patients near them where they can occasionally visit. (2) The patient's nearest relatives have not got to cut themselves adrift from all occupation which bring them their daily bread, in search of health and cure. (3) Further, being situated close to the towns they afford good object lessons to those who want to profit by them to find out the safest methods of avoiding illness and in case of illness already existing they know how to treat them in their houses if they chose to undertake the expenditure. (4) If it be desired by the patient or his friends to call fresh medical aid than is obtainable at these institutions they have the satisfaction of being in easy reach of such men. Later on the scheme may be further extended and convalescent homes, farm colonies and open air schools like 'Shantiniketan' at Bolepore might be established in different parts of Bengal—some on the hills, others on the sea side and all connected with and controlled from the central institution at Calcutta. Of course all this require time and money. One should also realise that successful treatment of tuberculosis patients who are not wealthy, outside a sanatorium, is impossible. If the leading men of Bengal take up the matter seriously, and it is high time that they do so, we need not be afraid of funds. The Government and the Corporation might be moved to help and many other philanthropic gentlemen will surely come forward and co-operate in the matter.

References—Edinburgh Medical Journal May 1918, Calcutta Medical Journal August 1918. Dr. Walters Sanatoria for Tuberculosis. Modern Review May 1917. Report of the Health Officer for Calcutta from 1909 to 1916. Lathan—Diagnosis and Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

### ENGLISH.

✕ TULSEMMAH AND NAGAYA OR FOLK-STORIES FROM INDIA by M. N. Venkataswami, M.R.A.S.,

46¼-6

M.F.L.S., with a foreword by Prof. James Bremner (Madras, Methodist Publishing House, 1918). Pp. XX+167.

It is a well-written, well-printed and well-got up



little volume of the indigenous people of India. Some of them undoubtedly enable us to understand the mental outlook of the original inhabitants of India before any Aryan set his foot on the soil. Mr. Venkataswami lives in Southern India, where the pre-Aryan background has not yet been so completely effaced as in Aryavarta. He has used his opportunities well in this "Folk-loreist's paradise," and has arranged his collection in groups headed Stories of the Marvellous or Supernatural, Stories of Adventure and Romance, Comic exploits of Noddies, Stories illustrative of Tribal or Caste Eccentricities, National Gods, Beast Stories &c. We have only one suggestion to make: he should have mentioned the district where and tribe (or caste) among whom each story is most current.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

**THE GARIAND OF LIFE: POEMS WEST AND EAST** by James H. Cousins published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, price Rs. 1-0-0.

To the readers of the Modern Review the name of James H. Cousins is already familiar. He is one of our new worshippers at the shrine of Indian spirituality and as a brilliant thinker and critic has already established his claim to help us in our national cultural awakening. There is no doubt that he is destined to play a great part in nursing and inspiring the development of the new Life in India much in the same way as the late Sister Nivedita has done. His *Kingdom of Youth* is a series of brilliant and thought-provoking essays which has justly attracted serious attention. But it was with the fame of a poet and not as an essayist that he first came out to India and we are glad of the opportunity now afforded to make acquaintance with his essays in poetry. The active part he took in the Irish poetic revival and the appreciative reception of his former poems by the English Press have unfortunately raised expectations of qualities in his poems which are not fulfilled in this book of verses before us. The group of verses are divided into two sections, West and East; the latter beginning with a tribute to Sarojini Naidu is devoted to eastern subjects including some paraphrases from Saint Appar, Mirabai and Tukaram which are not quite successful. The most obvious quality disclosed in these verses is the twang of spirituality which the touch of eastern mysticism has enhanced in the poet already endowed with a spiritual vision; and the burden of the Indian mystic is again and again expressed in the poet's conviction that "the maze of things by a single joy is starved," that "Intimate this, remotest That, Behind their myriad shapes are one," and that, "They only read Fate's book aright who not in fragments seek the whole." From a book of verses of varying merits it is difficult to make a representative quotation, but the following may serve as a fair sample:

"Wail not that the thorny spear  
Pricks about this Persian Rose,  
Rather count it good that here  
Beauty out of harshness grows.  
Though the feathery tamarind  
Acid fruitage hangs in air,  
Spiny cactus leather-skinned,  
Gives a sweetly savoured pear.  
What if sunlight, fostering  
Nestled frailty hid from sight,  
Strikes in gold along the wing  
Of the circling slaughterous kite.

Thus, and in the human heart  
Where across a swinging gate  
Joy and sorrow kiss or part  
Nature holds her balance straight."

Mr. Cousins is a new convert to Mysticism and the yellow mantle of Eastern Sannyasi has yet to clasp round him in graceful and natural folds. And if judged by technical and logical standards many of these verses lack striking qualities, there is that rare quality of sincerity and plenty of that elusive element of vitality in his poetry which, borrowing the language of dietetics, the critics have now chosen to call "vitamines" which one can feel if not isolate or analyse. Greater familiarity with eastern ideas will undoubtedly bring to our poet that surer grip which is the fruit of culture and realisation.

O. C. G.

**THE GREEN MIRROR**, by Hugh Walpole: Published by Macmillan & Co.

The novel is designated as a quiet story by the author himself and the title is really appropriate,—in fact, too much so. We are here taken into the domestic circle of an old-fashioned British family, the members of which live for themselves alone. The earliest sense of morality which the youngsters of the family had was that there were God, the Trenchards and the Devil—that the Devil wished very much to win the Trenchards to His side, but that God assured them that if they behaved well He would not let them go,—and for this Troy had been destroyed, Rome had fallen etc. Into their family circle a young man, Philip Mart, with a wide experience of life and an eventful past, comes in accidentally; and the main theme of the novel is the story of the love between him and Katherine, the daughter of the house. One cannot say that the handling of the love-story is specially skilful or interesting and the interposition of the members of the family, particularly of Aunt Aggie, who creates most difficulties, on several occasions seems uncalled for and inartistic. Katherine herself is somewhat colourless, as might be expected from her surroundings, and even the advent of love in the heart fails to transmute her nature. There is a touch of melodrama in the presence of the old mirror in the room, that in which everyone and everything are reflected, and the breaking of which seems to typify the destruction of the old conventions of the family; but in the conclusion, the author shows us clearly that these antiquated passions and prejudices are too much ingrained in the nature of man to be changed in a day or even in a life-time.

**THE TRYST AND OTHER POEMS**, by E. V. Rieu: published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

"The Tryst" with which the book opens is quite commonplace, but there is a certain weirdness about the "House of Thought". The sonnet "Love in Peace" would have been more striking if some of the details of the picture were omitted; but "The Return" contains a beautiful simile, that of the rower pausing midway in the mere and dreaming that "through the gloom he sees the hand of one who beckons from the dwindling shore". The address "To my new-born son" invites comparison with Matthew Arnold's "Gipsy child", but any comparisons would, of course, be unfair, as it also would be with "All songs leads to thee" if we brought it beside Shelley's "Love's Philosophy". The "Prophetic Ode" is too ambitious in design, but there is real dignity in some lines. On the whole if we come to the book not for any striking



novel image or newly turned ideas, but are content to have common feelings rendered musically, we shall not go hence disappointed.

**SASIPADA BANERJI : A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND LIFE-WORK.** G. A. Natesan & Co.

This is one of the latest volumes brought out by Messrs. Natesan & Co., in their series of the biographies of eminent Indians. The booklet gives us an account of Mr. Banerjee's attempts at social reform, his temperance work, and his efforts for the emancipation of Hindu women. His activities in the direction of religious reform are not less noteworthy, and of the institution, Devalaya, founded by him, Sir Rabindranath speaks in the following terms :—

"When a seed germinates, it rends the earth, but when it develops into a full-grown tree, with its branches and twigs, it gives shade to the earth. Time was when the Brahmo Samaj raised its head in and through opposition. The establishment of the Devalaya is a proof positive of the fact that the day of struggle and opposition for the Brahmo Samaj is drawing to its close. It is my belief that they alone have understood the mission of the Brahmo Samaj who are attempting to provide in the shade of this huge tree a common meeting-ground for all."

N. K. S.

**THE PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION (SPECIALLY INTENDED FOR INDIAN STUDENTS) :** by C. V. Narasingha Row Sahib, B. A., B. L. Madras : The Modern Printing Works, 1918. Price Rupee One.

This is a laudable attempt to assist the Indian student in acquiring a good pronunciation of English. The author has taken great care to make his exposition of the underlying principles of English Phonetics and Orthography as lucid as possible, and has used Tamil, Telugu and Devanagari letters to illustrate English sounds by their exact or approximate equivalents in the vernaculars and in Sanskrit. It must be said, however, that his analysis of the English sounds is not strictly scientific. After all that has been done in England by A. M. Bell, Henry Sweet, and Daniel Jones, to quote only a few names, a treatment of English orthoepy along traditional lines has hardly any value. It is high time that English dictionaries followed the Oxford Dictionary in adopting some scientific alphabet (preferably that of the *International Phonetic Association*) to indicate the pronunciation of words. At the present day our notions of English Phonetics are distorted, as they are ordinarily derived through a wrong perspective—viz., an absurdly unphonetic system of 'phonetic' spelling followed by most 'pronouncing' dictionaries. The writer of the present treatise has not gone beyond what may be called 'dictionary phonetics.' And he has not been sufficiently guided by his ear in this matter. In several respects he is quite content to accept ordinary Indian (or rather South Indian) approximations of English sounds as the true English ones. (For instance, at p. 6 we read that 'one may venture to say that there is scarcely any appreciable difference between the sounds represented by' the *a* in *fall* and the *a* in *far*; the fricative sounds of *th* (as in *thin*, *thine*) are regarded to be the same as those of the Devanagari त्थ *t*, *d*, which are interdental plosives (pp. 9, 10, 115 ff.); the diphthongal nature of the so-called long vowels of English has not been considered, nor has the slurred *r*; we also do not understand why the English consonants *t*, *d*, *k*, *p*, etc., are printed with a dot on them, imita-

ting the Tamil *virama*, which is not at all necessary for the consonants in the Roman alphabet, as they have no inherent *a* in them.) The pronunciation which is followed as the standard, it would seem, is the ordinary South Indian pronunciation of English, which makes [k-l a:t-] out of *cloth*, [va:ɹd-] out of *word*, [a:ri:to:ɹd:k-a] out of *orthodox*, and gives the truly Dravidian cerebral sound to the English *t* and *d* and occasionally to *n* and *l*. In Northern and Eastern India we have our peculiarities, no doubt, which often make our articulation of English equally ridiculous; and there are many funny stories which hinge round our ordinary Bengali mispronunciation of English. But when our aim is to teach the correct pronunciation and intonation of a foreign tongue, as well as its orthography, through the medium of a book, we should be particularly careful in noting the organic character of the sounds as produced by the native speaker, and in what respects these sounds differ from similar ones of our own mother-tongue. In the case of a language like English which, is unphonetically written, nothing short of a good knowledge of the forces and influences which make up its history can give one a clear idea of its orthographical system. There cannot be any proper teaching of pronunciation without some knowledge of scientific phonetics, and, above all, demonstration in the class-room. Mr. Row Sahib has treated each letter or group of letters, and has given lists of words under each variety of sound; as such, the book will be of some use to teachers of English. But I fear it is not likely to benefit much those who begin to learn English. An up-to-date vernacular treatise on the comparative phonetics of English and the vernacular itself would be more useful.

The best (and perhaps the earliest) book aiming to teach correct pronunciation of English to Indian students is a short '*Bengali-English Word-Book*' which was first published in the eighties of the last century. The author of it is Babu Syama Charan Ganguli, late Principal of the Uttarpara College, one of the sanest students of phonetics (and philology in general) in our country,—who, in spite of his eighty years, takes an active interest in the subject, as the pages of the *Modern Review* will amply testify. The English Introduction to this unpretentious little volume gives a brief but most accurate account of the English sounds, noting their points of difference with those of the vernacular. In the first edition the pronunciation of the words was given in a roman phonetic alphabet; in subsequent editions, a phonetic script on the basis of the Bengali alphabet has been rightly substituted—as the book is intended for Bengali boys beginning to learn English. Mr. Row Sahib's book, no doubt, has a place among literature on the subject; but for it to be really scientific and useful, a more thorough and up-to-date treatment of the comparative phonetics of English and the vernaculars (Tamil, Telugu etc) is necessary.

The printing and general get-up of the book are excellent.

5th September, 1918.

S. K. C.

**THE WORK OF TAGORE :** by Edwin Herbert Lewis. Chicago Literary Club, 1917.

This is a short paper read before the Chicago Literary Club on the 17th January 1917. Both Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. J. C. Bose had been guests of the Club, and incidentally, the essay touches on the philosophical aspect of Dr. Bose's scientific work. Mr. Lewis tries to show that the Hindu



thought of Sankara was peculiarly monistic, but Sir Rabindranath, a great Brahmo and the son of a great Brahmo, revolted alike from monism and polytheism, and 'conceived God in the older Hindu way, as present in all nature and yet as personal.' "This is the hardest of theologies to manage, and the balance is equally hard in science. Dr. Bose keeps it, for he applies exact electrical methods of investigation to plants, finds their functions parallel with those of animals, and is filled with joy that he and the flowers are alike children of God. It is no accident that Bose turned from his independent invention of wireless telegraphy to the study of plants, for India's strength has lain in her sympathetic care of plants and animals. And in theology and art Tagore keeps the same balance curiously well." Mr. Lewis then goes on to say that Western pantheism is rarely personal, and cites Spinoza and Wordsworth. "But Tagore speaks directly to God in almost all the poems of his maturity." "This is real with the man. I have challenged him to show that it is not chiefly art for art's sake, and have left off abashed, convinced by the nature and manner of his replies that these experiences are the very tissue of his daily life. He has himself summed up his apologia in these words: 'drunk with the joy of singing, I forget myself and call thee friend who art my lord,' (Gitanjali, poem 2). "Tagore made a great hit with American women, partly because he is so unlike the average swami who appears with the latest revelation to enchant white-gloved audiences. And specially he scored with his *flair* for childish psychology, and his exquisite love of children" (as seen in his *Crescent Moon*). Mr. Lewis proceeds to quote his message to the people of the West in his *Sadhana*, in which he declares that their machines, appliances, and organisations, though a splendid achievement, is not the realisation of life, just as owing to the city-wall habit of their minds, inherited from the Greeks, their primeval forests "never acquired a sacred association in the hearts of men as the place of a great spiritual reconciliation, where man's soul had its meeting-place with the soul of the world." Speaking of his essay on the *Cult of Nationalism*, which, according to him, has become the organised selfishness of a people, Mr. Lewis says: "never was there an attainment of mechanical organisation so competent, so eloquent, so impressive as his." But in spite of his denunciation of certain aspects of western civilisation, it is important for us to remember that "No one has more frankly acknowledged than Sir Rabindranath that West and East are complimentary and necessary to each other. And his India, especially rich in humane agriculture and humane contemplation, may in due time become the real reconciliation of machinery and ideals. Machines in India may become genuine savers of labour, and genuine saviours of the spirit." In the West, "you see in every man to-day the struggle between mechanism and ideals. To one statesman (or general, or engineer, or physician, or clergyman, or educator) machinery is a servant, to another it is a master. In one it increases benevolence, in another tyranny. We see excess of statistics, we see blindness to statistics. We see excess of organisation, we see lack of organisation. We believe that religion should be democratic, but it is hard to get the democrats to church. And so it goes. We Westerners are all on the straddle."

While the West has this merit of frankly doubting the perfection of its predominantly mechanical civilisation, we in India are so cocksure of our spirituality that we have made up our minds that we need not

learn anything from the civilisation of the West. Sir Rabindranath's animadversions on Western civilisation may lend apparent support to our orthodox patriots, but those who can appreciate his detached, impersonal and universal standpoint will see that to interpret Sir Rabindranath in this sense is to misread his teaching and derive the least profit from it. A genius like Rabindranath's transcends the limits of race and clime, and he utters truths of universal application, and cannot be a patriot in the narrow, pettifogging sense, exposing the fundamental drawbacks of western social polity merely with a view to flatter our national vanity. While he has always been true to our highest self, pointing out with unerring finger wherein lies the essential genius of our civilisation, giving it whatever strength and vitality and chance of survival it has, he has never truckled to our national and social vices. If he could only have shut his eyes to them, and confined himself to exposing the seamy side of western nationalism, his popularity with all sections of his countrymen would have been assured. But he was too staunch a patriot, in the real sense, not to love truth more than his country. As he said in the last number of this magazine, 'If I did not [love my country], then it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen.' As Mr. Lewis says, Rabindranath's mission was to "persuade Young India to keep the right line of development—social co-operation, and not mere political freedom, or economic exploitation, conflict and rivalry." The reply which Sir Rabindranath gave to Mr. Lewis who, like many others, congratulated him on his obtaining the Nobel prize, is characteristic of the high-souled patriot and of the poet, who can grasp the real significance of an event, apart from the ephemeral circumstances which hide it, at a glance: "The prize will be of very great help to my school, but the honour has proved to be a very great burden to myself, which I must accept humbly and without complaining, bearing in mind that it is the first greeting of sympathy and respect that has come to the east from the west in the modern time."

1920 : DIPS INTO THE NEAR FUTURE : by Lucian. Headley Bros., Kingsway, W. C. 2s. net.

These imaginary scenes are reprinted from issues of the London *Nation* published in the last quarter of 1917. Some of these scenes have been quoted in the 'Notes' portion of the current issue of this magazine. The book is a most interesting and instructive satire on 'the stream of tendency' prevailing in England as a result of the war, and the author has most appropriately assumed the name of the Roman satirist whose role was to expose the vices of his society in the days of its decadence. In 1920, old men and women will be compulsorily burnt in the state crematorium, for if food consumption is to be appreciably diminished, old people must be sacrificed. A compulsory military service Act must be passed for females of the marriageable age, on whom will devolve the repair of the wastage of the war. "For were it left undone, the war, with all its liberating mission, would speedily collapse. A few more years would plunge the world into peace for sheer lack of fighting material. It is for woman to avert such an unspeakable calamity." Concurrent Unions and Co-operative Households (euphemism for polygamy) and leasehold or terminable marriages will therefore be established. The war-financiers will own all the war-bonds, and when capitalism has won, it will stop the



war, after completing British bondage. Till then, the one war-aim will be the continuance of the war. There are many other interesting things in this little book for which we must refer the reader to the book itself. It is very cleverly written, and should lead to bitter heart-searchings in high quarters and have a purifying effect on the political atmosphere of Great Britain.

POL.

### SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

**THE HARSHACHARITA** of Banabhatta (*Uchchhrvasas IV-VIII*) Edited with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices by P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.B. Pp. xliii+86+274. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book is intended specially for University students and will, we think, as the author himself hopes, meet all their requirements. The notes are good and give nothing more or less than what is required. The Introduction is well-written and full of information. We cannot agree with Mr. Kane when he holds that the authors of the 'Kadambari' and the 'Parvatiparinaya' were identical. That they are quite different persons has been very satisfactorily shown by Abhinava Bhattacharya Pandit R. V. Krishnamacharya in his introduction to the 'Parvatiparinaya' issued from the Vani Vilas Press, Shrirangam.

### SANSKRIT-MARATHI.

**SANSKRITA-PRAVESHA** by Rajaram Damodar Desai, B.A., Third Edition. Pp. 299. Price Re. 1-8.

It is an excellent handbook of Sanskrit written in Marathi for beginners. It is divided into two parts, the first part forms the Grammar and the second a Reader in which graduated lessons with meanings of difficult words are framed and selected very suitably from various works including some Vedic ones.

### SANSKRIT-HINDI.

**A MANUAL OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, PART I, ( संस्कृत व्याकरण, प्रथमभाग )** authorised for Middle Schools, by Ganapat Rai, M.A., and Sant Gokulchand Shastri, B.A. Pp. 170.

This book is well adapted for the requirements of young boys, the special feature being that it explains the rules of grammar in Hindi quoting throughout it the *sutras* of Panini. It will certainly help the student to some extent in his reading Panini in upper classes. On page 85 the word प्रनिजानामि should be corrected as प्रनिजाने।

### SANSKRIT.

**BHARATIMANORATHAM** by M. K. Tatacharya, B.A., with a Foreword by S. Kuppaswami Sastriar, M.A.

It is a short Sanskrit poem in 90 most ordinary verses. There is a metrical defect in the last syllables of the first lines of the verses 55 and 59.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### MUSIC.

**THE RAGAS OF HINDUSTAN**, published by Mr. K.

B. Deval, Hon. Sec. Philharmonic Society of Western India, Poona. No price is stated on the book.

"The Ragas of Hindustan" is a noteworthy publication compiled and issued by the Philharmonic Society of Western India. It is well-bound, well-printed and adds another important volume to the happily increasing store of Indian music now preserved by the printing Press, the modern supplement to the ancient method of preservation and continuity by oral tradition only.

One half of the book consists of a collection of 129 *Sarigamas* in 79 Ragas arranged in a special notation by the Executive Committee of the Philharmonic Society. At first sight these melodies appear to be written in Western notation but a closer inspection shows it to be an adaptation of it of a novel kind. The notation makes use of the Western symbols for sounds and pitch—namely, notes of different shapes and the use of a Stave with a Clef sign and the Western signs for raised and lowered swaras; but it employs such distorted key-signatures and such erratic and irregular time-marking that Western musicians will find them very difficult to follow, while Eastern readers will be equally puzzled by the Western signs.

The other half of the book consists of a dissertation on the Theory of Indian Music by the Chairman of the Society, and five Appendices dealing with special points regarding the same. A series of well produced portraits of the Patrons of the Society adds a personal—but somewhat irrelevant note to the book.

Everything that is of the nature of experiment is to be welcomed in the realm of Indian music for it is an evidence of the awakening of fresh vitality in this most ancient of Arts whose very conservatism was becoming its index of possible decay. Now, however, on all sides there are signs of a great revival of critical interest in the modes by which most directly the Indian people shall express their emotions—music. Interest precedes knowledge, and after a wider spread of musical education and after a deeper comparative study of differing musical systems there will undoubtedly come a renaissance of musical inspiration capable of being embodied in such a form as will carry its Indian message all over the world.

It was through the translation of the Indian Scriptures into the German and English languages that India was able to give her spiritual message to the West. In her music she has also her distinctive message for the world and all honour must be given to those who strive to translate the ancient musical literature into a language of notation already known in four continents. Such a work as this will also bring a better understanding of Western music (on its form side) to Indian musicians and the result of such a *rapprochement* must result in the enrichment of both systems.

"European music is poor in modes, poor and uncertain in intonation and represented by a notation which applies exactly to artificial and not to real music. Indian music lacks explicit harmony and cannot vie with the European art in instrumentation. It is, however, rich in modes and variety of intonation. In these days of popular education it needs for its very preservation a comprehensive and exact notation capable of expressing the hair's breadth differences which distinguish one raga from another."

Believing that the most pressing need in Indian



music today in the invention of an accepted All-India new system of notation the author devotes the greater portion of his article to explaining the system that he has evolved from Eastern and Western systems by interchanging the assets of both. This is the notation used in publishing these skeleton melodies. It needs to be read by a receptive, unprejudiced mind, but for such reforms as are needed to serve universal and not merely national or local music. Without this spirit probably both Eastern and Western musicians will throw aside these ragas in impatience and irritation and yet such attempts at producing a uniform system of notation are as necessary for making a united nation musically as for making music a universal language.

The Arts cannot escape the influence of a democratic era; even music must become democratized. Owing to its almost entire reliance on the ear as the medium of instruction music was held in the possession of an artistic oligarchy; now the age demands a more widespread method, and just as the Press was a fundamental factor in the rise in intellectual self-consciousness of the masses of the people so is it also destined to be in their emotional consciousness. Hence the experiments being conducted in many far apart corners of India all aimed at producing the ideal system of notation for expressing India's musical life and for carrying her musical wealth far and wide.

In order to effect a compromise between the unaccountable attachment of Indians to that entirely foreign instrument, the harmonium, and the crying necessity for preserving the natural intonation and tuning common to the East whose existence is threatened by the artificial "well-tempered" system of this instrument, attention is drawn to the recently invented "Indian harmonium" constructed by Mr. Clements. If India insists on retaining its foolish passion for the harmonium though it is in no way a product of its own tradition and genius then Mr. Clement's instrument is at least a step in a better direction. It is certainly better suited to the Indian music than is the commonly used Austrian model, and as a rope thrown out to save an intonation in danger of being submerged it must be welcomed though with reservations.

Many other interesting points in the book might be noted but enough has been said to show that it will repay study and that it should be in the library of every musician even if readers do not agree with all in it. The Philharmonic Society is justifying its existence by making the publication and perpetuation of such collections of beautiful Ragas possible.

M. E. C.

## GUJARATI.

(1) **PREMANAND** by *Bhanusukhrām Nirgunāram Mehta B.A.*, printed at the *Sayajivijaya Press, Baroda*. Cloth bound pp. 165. Price Re. 1.—(1918).

Premanand, one of the best poets in the older section of Gujarati literature, has been exercising a fascination over this writer of his biography, and he has proceeded to his work with great love for the poet. His compilation shows all the marks of great laboriousness, and gives much information in a compact form, information which was lying scattered here and there. H. B. the Gackwar of Baroda is a great patron of Vernacular Literature, and we have received

eight books published out of the interest of a munificent sum of rupees two lacs set apart for the express purpose of encouraging the same. Most of these books are translations, and in a couple of instances we have come across the rare phenomenon of father and son both contributing to the series, e. g. while Bhanusukhrām is selected for this work, his son has been selected for the next work. Similarly Prof. Trivedi and his father Rao Bahadur K. P. Trivedi have both been fortunate enough to attract the eye of the selecting authorities. The series called the *Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala* is divided into several sections, Ethics, Biography, Science, Stories, Religion, etc.

(2) **MA BAPNE BE BOL** ( *મા બાપને બે બોલ* ), by *Bharatram Bhanusukhrām Mehta*, printed at the *Sayajivijaya Press, Baroda*, pp. 55. Cloth bound Price As. 6. (1917).

This book called 'A Few Words to Parents' is the work of six days, so says the young translator in his preface. It has been translated from a Marathi Book, and the original does not of course go beyond the usual platitudes found in such works. As to Mr. Bharatram's knowledge of Marathi, we do not know anything, but the translation reads well enough.

(3) **VIJÑAN PRAVESHĪKA** ( *વિજ્ઞાનપ્રવેશિકા* ), by *Chhotalal Balkrishna Purani, M.A.*, printed at the *Shiapura L. Steam Press, Baroda*. pp. 119. Cloth bound. Price As. 11. (1918).

Though this book is a translation of an English Book, called the *Foundations of Science*, in the *People's Books Series*, it has been so well done that it almost reads like an original work; the reason being that the writer is himself so full of the subject matter of his book, that he has had to make no effort in presenting the outlines to his readers. The drawbacks to be found in it are inherent in the subject itself, and it is always so difficult to avoid them.

(4) **JINDAGI NO VIMO** ( *જીંદગીનો વીમો* ) by *Bhohtlal Jayshankar Oza*, printed at the same Press : *Baroda*, pp. 109. Cloth bound. Price As. 11. (1918).

This, we believe, is the first book of its kind in Gujarati, in which Life Insurance is treated in its business aspect, and scientifically, in a way to guide and advise those who are inclined as well as those who may not be inclined to have their lives insured. Based on several English works, quoted in the preface, it gives all up to date information on the subject. Its merit is, that in spite of having to write on a technical subject, the writer has been able to put into it great interest and attraction.

(5) **NITISHASTRA** by *Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B.*, of the *Baroda College*, printed at the above Press. Cloth bound pp. 148. Price As. 14. (1918).

Prof. Rashdall's *Ethics* is translated into Gujarati in order to shew the ideas of Western thinkers on this branch of philosophy. The translator himself being a Professor of the subject has been able to do justice to the original, but we very much doubt whether it would ever be found anywhere else beyond the shelves of a few libraries : the subject is so exclusive.



(5) APANA LAGHU BANDHU ANGREJ (आपना लघु बंधु अंग्रेज), by J. P. Joshipura, M.A., Translation assistant to the Vidyadhikari, Baroda State, printed at the same Press. Cloth bound, pp. 93. Price Re. 1. (1917).

This book is a translation, of course. The original is written as part of an American juvenile education series, and is called, Our Little English Cousin. The title very well suits the great nation, which may call the children of the mother country, our little cousins, but to literally translate it, and with reference to Indian children, to call them our little cousins, is unmeaning and ridiculous. In fact the title of the book puzzled us a little, and we thought it a piece of temerity on the part of a Gujarati to call an Englishman, a little cousin. It was when we read the preface, that we could get some explanation of this extraordinary and infelicitous heading. The book describes the life of English children at home, their places of amusement, etc.

(6) ALAKA NO ADBHUT PRAVAS (अलका नो अद्भुत प्रवास), Do. Printed at the Lakshmivilas Press, Baroda, Cloth bound. With woodcuts. Pp. 135. Price Rs. 1-6-0. (1917).

"Alice's Adventures in Wonderland," a most delightful children's Book in English is sought to be adapted to Indian life by the writer. He is fully conscious of the difficulties of conveying the exact situations, the inimitable humor, and the surpassing delights of this innocent narrative into his work. The woodcuts with their English associations add to them. So that it is no wonder if this production lacks the attractiveness of the original. However as a first attempt, there is much to recommend it, and we are sure that in spite of its deficiencies it would appeal to children, and that its style suited more to educated and cultured minds, would not stand in their way.

(7) JAGAT NO VARTARUP ITIHAS (जगत् नो वार्तारूप इतिहास), by Gokaldas Mathuradas Shah, B.A., LL.B., Educational Inspector, Baroda State; printed at the Lohana Mitra Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 187 : 215 : 228. Price Rs. 3-8-0. (1918).

This substantial volume comprising but only nine parts of a larger whole, still to come, is a translation of Singe's Story of the World for the children of the British Empire. The story telling in the original is really such as would please children, and instruct them. Even in this translation, there are portions which cannot but interest them, but, once for all we may say here, in connection with this, with the prior books noticed above and with the subsequent one to be noticed below that, if instead of engaging the services of these writers in the work of mere translation, they had been asked to rewrite the story or the subject in their own words, taking the original as their basis or model, a far better result could have been achieved. With the munificent sum at the disposal of H. H's Educational Department surely better work than a mere handful of translations could have been added to the Gujarati Literature. Are educationists of the type of R. B. Kamatashankar to be expected to work on the mechanical process of translation and earn their hire by treading the mill or are they to be called upon to produce something

original and make their work worthy of their wages? We would have infinitely more preferred to see Mr. Shah telling this Story of the World, in his own words, after saturating himself with the subject from Singe's original. There was the instance of Narmadashankar's *Rajyarang* (राज्यरंग) before him. How well has he narrated the history of the world there! How well does it read!

(8) HINDUSTAN NA DEVO (हिंदुस्तान ना देवो) by Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar P. Trivedi, B.A., printed at the same Press. Cloth bound, pp. 434. With a map and illustrations. Price Rs. 4. (1917).

How ridiculous does it look for one to say that this book treating of the gods of India is a translation of a book written by a foreigner, Osborne Martin and that too at the hands of a Brahmin scholar, who could from his intimate knowledge of the subject have given us the same information in original, possibly for the same remuneration? A cognate subject has been treated in the original, by an equally well-known Brahmin scholar, Prof. Dhruba, for H. H's State. Look at that book and look at this translation, and see whether there could be any comparison between the two. Between first hand information given by a Brahmin scholar of the Hindu gods, and second or third hand information furnished from the translation of a foreigner's book, there is a world of difference; and we do hope that in making selection of subjects and writers in future, the State Department would keep in view the fact that what the Literature (साहित्य) of Gujarat at present wants, is not inane, lifeless translations, which fall flat on the reader or pass into oblivion soon after publication, but living original work, and the amount placed at its disposal is princely. This translation, it is needless to say, is well done.

SHRI RATNAKAR PACHCHISHI (श्री रत्नाकर पचचीशी), by Ratnakar Suri, printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, pp. 32. Unpriced. (1918).

As its name implies it is a small pamphlet embodying prayers, etc.

OUR DAY by H. D. Mulla, B.A. (1917).

This small book contains several songs, etc., sung by the children of Surat on "Our Day" 1917. It is illustrated.

MAGIC LANTERN by Hardatt G Shastri, printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound. pp. 104. Price As. 8. (1918).

Of late the use of magic lanterns and their slides has become so universal that a book dealing with their make and their exhibition was wanted. This book supplies the want.

RASIK ZAGHADU (रसिक झगड़ो) by Matilal Tribhuvandas Sattavala, B.A., LL.B., Retired Joint Chief Judge of Bhavnagar, printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Thick card board cover, pp. 82. Price As. 8. (1918).

This is a delightful little book of verses. Though primarily intended for those Vaishnavas who are lovers and worshippers of the rustic gambols of Krishna, it is sure to appeal to lay readers too. Based on the model of that best Vaishnava singer,



Dayaram, it depicts a quarrel between the eye and the eyelash. The latter requests the former to give it a share in the feast enjoyed by it, in its constant and uninterrupted gaze of Krishna, when he returns home in the evening driving his herd of kine. The eye is unwilling to do so, because it says that when it does not get its fill of enjoyment how can it share it? The eyelash thereupon comes in the way of the eye seeing Krishna. The eye seeks the assistance of the Gopis, and the quarrel proceeds merrily involving others. The love of the Bhakta for Krishna is brought into great relief by these verses; and we do feel that in publishing them, Mr. Matilal has done well. But for it, very few would have come to know of the latent talent lying in him.

TARANGAYALI PART I, (तरंगायली) by Ram-

mohan rai Jasavant rai and Kamli rai Jasavant rai, printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick board cover. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 12. (1918).

This collection of poems written by two brothers is mostly intended for ladies. The poems are explained by means of notes of equal bulk. The sentiments expressed are noble, the ideals worthy, and the language in which they are couched is simple and sweet.

K. M. J.

In the September (1918) issue of the "Modern Review" on page 259 in the third line of the Review of *परिचय* in place of "both for" read "both in".

## THE RENAISSANCE IN INDIA \*

THE author is an Irishman and a poet, and can use words winged with meaning and charged with thought, so that whenever he writes with emotion, as he often does, we are apt to be carried off our feet and lose ourselves in a maze of suggestive ideas, now picturesque, now elevated, but always profound. He sometimes errs by a fine excess, and though it is an error leaning on virtue's side—for it reveals his deep sympathy without which true vision is impossible—and not one by any means as common among European writers as its opposite, nevertheless there is a danger to us in it against which it is necessary to warn our readers. Mr. Cousins says in his preface:

"against the whole weight of a religious and social upbringing that consigned everyone outside my own faith to Hell, and took Europe (before August 1914) to be the first and last word in culture, I have tried to take on an intelligent, not a blind, eastern prejudice."

This prejudice is a most useful antidote to the mental attitude with which the westerner habitually approaches the study of eastern questions, but to us it has the very insidious, though none the less real, danger of puffing us up with a false pride, and lending a meretricious support to the habit of blind adherence to customs and

institutions which have long outgrown their utility. In this respect the author may be classed with Sister Nivedita, who proved 'what a priceless help towards interpretation sympathy is', but at the same time glorified our civilisations in purple patches which, instead of spurring us on to further achievement, inclined many of us, naturally prone to credulousness, to consider ourselves to be the pink of perfection, the *ne plus ultra* of civilised manhood and womanhood, whereas there is no fact plainer than this, that in the whole world there is no civilised people so little esteemed as ourselves, and however wrong this judgment may be, it could hardly have existed if we were the perfect beings we were painted by some of our enthusiastic and noble-minded friends to be. The stronger we grow, the less shall we stand in need of unbalanced praise, and our growing self respect may even feel a little humiliated by these generous efforts to infuse confidence in ourselves by obviously exaggerated appreciation. No foreigner, however sympathetic he may be, can, if we think of it, be a more complete Indian than an Indian himself, and in emphasising this or that point of our excellence, he should not forget the whole man with whom he cannot, and, if given the option, would not, identify, however ardent may be his love and admiration for the people in the mass. Both his

\* *The Renaissance in India*: by James H. Cousins. Ganesb & Co, Madras, 1918. pp. 294. The book is well printed, though there are some printing mistakes, and is strongly bound in cloth.



praise and his blame should therefore be conditioned by not this or that aspect of an alien civilisation, but by what he has been able to see of the men and the institutions in their entirety, and if this has the effect of modifying the vehemence of both his appreciation and depreciation, it is a result which all sincere well-wishers of the country will approve. When Mr. Cousins, in his indignation against Ruskin for betraying a mean race-prejudice against Indian art, calls us "a great, cultured, peace-loving people, who, in many respects, have come nearer obedience to the injunctions of the Christianity of Jesus Christ than lip-servers who take sides with the Father of Lies in their thought and speech of the non-Christian peoples," we can all agree with him and feel that he has done no more than justice to a much-maligned race. But when he says: "India needs no awakening...she has always been wide awake," we know at once that he is indulging in a sentimental hyperbole. Again when he says: "It is easy for the westerner to condemn the 'heathen practice' of slaughtering goats in the Temple of Kali, and it is equally easy for the westerner to excuse the slaughtering, not for religious sacrifice but for appetite, of vast numbers of cattle and sheep; which is funny and very sad," there is this much of truth in it, that in spite of the cruelty of some Indian religious cults, the Indians are essentially a humane and kindly people, and nowhere has the virtue of non-killing been carried to greater lengths in practice and preached more insistently in the religious books of the race than in India. At the same time, as cultured foreigners from the days of the Marquis of Hastings down to Meredith Townsend and Sidney Low have observed, the human animal is nowhere held at a cheaper fee, and the inhumanity of man to man, displayed in social rather than in personal relations, and in the habitual indifference to national concerns, has nowhere been more marked. Moreover, if temple-slaughter is to be justified, we can hardly draw the line at Montezuma's bloody hecatombs and cannibalistic horrors, perpetrated as they were in the sincere belief that they were welcome offerings to the Deity. Meat is eaten in all countries more or less, and in the Mahabharata, the Charaka Samhita and the Puranas we find strong justifications of the practice, and that one animal

should prey upon another is regarded as a law of Nature. Nevertheless, to think of God as a Being to whom the idea of bloody sacrifice is repugnant instead of being delightful is a nobler conception of Divinity, and one more worthy of being held by civilised humanity, than its opposite. That Hindus had this nobler conception can be abundantly proved from their scriptures. Why then, in the interests of Tantrikism, this veiled justification of the grosser forms of popular Hindu ritual? Elsewhere Mr. Cousins speaks of the "anomalies of the modern degradation of the caste system and the reprehensible social customs relating to women," and is even wroth with Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for what he calls her "door-mat attitude of womanhood," "which is at the root of India's present state of degeneracy through not only its direct enslavement of womanhood, but through" its indirect emasculation of manhood. This shows that his own attitude towards things Indian differs as the poles asunder from that of the devotee of Kali who slaughters goats at her shrine, and the peculiarly baneful effect of indiscriminate praise lies in the fact that whereas his salutary views on caste and womanhood will be ignored, his seeming justification of animal sacrifices at religious shrines will be pounced upon and cited in corroboration of the practice by people with whom Mr. Cousins, in spite of his sympathy for Hinduism, can have but little in common, but who pass for good Hindus. We seldom attach much importance now-a-days to a European's blame, knowing how deeply prejudiced he usually is against us, without examining its truth in the dry light of reason. The time has come when we should treat patronising praise with similar discrimination, however hard it may be to our natural inclination.

Criticism of this kind and from such a quarter will, we dare say, come upon Mr. Cousins as a painful surprise, for throughout the book there is ample evidence of the author's deep and ardent love of India and the Indians; and the many illuminating passages in which he has succeeded in lifting the veil and revealing the inner core of the mighty transformation that is going on in our midst require generous and grateful acknowledgment. It is therefore no less disconcerting to us than it is likely to be to him, to be com-



pelled to make such observations in view of the baneful effects of similar writings by foreigners which we have witnessed even among our educated countrymen who might be expected to show greater discrimination in swallowing wholesale all that has ever been said in praise of our beloved motherland. Long ago Macaulay said :

"We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* to a whole community to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control.

From indications that we sometimes see around us we have reasons to fear that the same pernicious result may be brought about, indirectly and more insidiously, by the ardent appreciation of our enthusiastic foreign admirers, who write with the best of intentions, but whose mental equipment and outlook, hereditary tendencies, and customary environments are so essentially different from our own, that all of us are not in a position to make the necessary allowance before applying their remarks made from their own peculiar standpoint in the true spirit in which they are meant, to the circumstances and conditions obtaining among us. True love of country lies not in being blind to our own faults, but in being alive to them with a view to their removal; and an attitude of alert responsiveness to the progressive spirit, and not a supine resignation to the *status quo*, is the vocation of the sincere patriot. It would be doing Mr. Cousins a grievous wrong to suppose that he is not an advocate of Indian progress himself, or that the necessary result of his panegyrics is a self-complacent confirmation of the reactionary habit of mind. If such be the effect of his encomiums on some of his readers, as we apprehend it may, the blame will lie almost entirely on ourselves, for he could only proceed on the assumption that his readers are capable of forming balanced judgments.

We shall now turn to the contents of the book, and here we are presented with a varied assortment of excellent things from which it is difficult to make a choice. No one who loves India and wants to grasp the real significance of the present upheaval in arts, religion and literature can do without a copy of this deeply informing book. There are two articles on the Bengal School of painters, and one on the

poetry of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and others on Literary Ideals, Philosophy and Poetry, the Renaissance in India, the Arts in Nation-building, some Indian Art-origins, Ruskin and Indian Art, and the Orientation of Western Literature. The author believes in reincarnation, and traces the growth of the idea of rebirth among English and Irish poets. Apart from the enlargement of mental and emotional scope which this philosophical doctrine is expected to give to English poetry, it is within the power of philosophy "to give to the arts in general, and to poetry in particular, a much-needed enrichment through the extension and intensification of the instruments of consciousness, and through opening a clear way into the super-realms of nature and humanity." "There are many in India who are looking for a new Renaissance in religion itself" says Mr. Cousins.

"It is not improbable that the next great movement in the religious life of India will be toward pulling down the walls between the shrines of Siva and Vishnu rather than strengthening them; while in the development of general art-crafts on naturalistic lines, the devotional impulse may be directed towards India herself. An alternative to the inspiration of devotion to God or Motherland may be found in devotion to Art itself, not for itself, but in service to the community through the fusion of art and religion—not the religion of creeds and ceremonies only, but of vision and realisation."

The author admires the work which Sir John Woodroffe is doing in the cause of the Tantra Shastra, which, according to Mr. Cousins, "will become one of the religious influences in modern life, not necessarily directly in the sense of superseding Christianity in the West, but certainly in an interaction through which the Shakta Shastra will help as an irritant, so to speak, in the great oyster of western, and perhaps eastern, religion, to produce the Mother-of-pearl of a complete and true religious exegesis and practice." Here is Mr. Cousins' exposition of the basal Tantrik principle :

"Christianity, as ordinarily interpreted, puts an impossible gulf between the ideal and human nature. Tantra, on the contrary, throws its circumference around the whole circle of human activity, and by linking every phase of conduct with religion, endeavours to lift conduct from stage to stage, not, as in non-tantrik observance, by focussing attention on the act itself, which only intensifies it, but by gradually raising consciousness, which will, in due time, influence conduct. It includes worship with flesh-foods, intoxicants, and sex, because it recognises that these are inherent in certain stages of human development, and because it believes that they are more certain to be transcended through being associated with the religious idea than through its being left



alone, or in an antagonistic relationship to religion... the Tantra, recognising the spiritual gradations of human evolution, not only takes cognisance of the 'debasement and sensual' aspects of human nature, and tries to elevate them through religion, but puts its severest condemnation on those who participate in the lower rites when in consciousness they belong to the higher levels of evolution. It is this recognition of psychic distinctions that marks the Tantra as a scripture that will appeal more and more to the future and exercise a growing renaissance influence."

It is wrong to place "flesh-foods, intoxicants, and sex" in the same category. The sexual relation between man and woman is quite natural, and necessary for the preservation of society; and in its normal and legitimate form it is pure and has something spiritual and elevating in it. Our attitude towards it is not that of the monk or the *sannyasi*. The finest love poetry owes its origin to it. In its normal form it has been a civilizer. The conception of the ideal wife and the ideal husband enables one to realize one aspect of the relationship of the human soul with the Deity. But for the sexual relation all the pure joys and discipline of family life, the conjugal relationship, the relationship between parent and child, brother and sister, and all that these imply, would have been unknown. It is the abuse of the sexual relation which is to be condemned. The religious ceremony of marriage sanctifies the normal sexual relation. There is no antagonism between it and religion. As regards flesh-foods, it is not our intention to discuss the relative and respective claims of meat-eating and vegetarianism. But every one will, we hope, admit that human society, at least over the greater part of the inhabited surface of the globe, can exist without flesh-foods, and that therefore it is not as necessary for the preservation of human society as the sexual relation. It will also not be contended, we hope, that meat-eating in any form or quantity is morally or spiritually elevating or has a disciplinary value. We have also said above, that to think of God as a Being to whom the idea of bloody sacrifice is repugnant instead of being delightful is a nobler conception of Divinity and more worthy of being held by civilized humanity than its opposite. In any case, we do not find any reason to look with complacency upon the association of animal sacrifices and flesh-eating with religion. The use of intoxicants stands altogether upon a different footing. Its physiological effects are well-known.

If two ordinary specimens of humanity are taken, and one is allowed to gorge himself with meat, and the other to drink as much as he likes and can, the meat-eater will not necessarily behave like a brute, but it is certain that the man who has drunk to the limit of his capacity or even somewhat less will behave worse than a brute. There is no justification for associating religion with intoxicants. And needless to add, they are nowhere a necessity to man. What a practical religionist will require the Neo-tantrist to show from history and biography is, to what extent the Tantric cult has actually led to "flesh-foods, intoxicants and sex" being "transcended through being associated with the religious idea". We are afraid there is a risk of the Neo-tantric exposition of the principle underlying the association of "flesh-foods, intoxicants and sex" with worship, being taken as only a refined and civilised presentation of the (right or wrong) popular notion that the Tantras teach that indulgence *ad libitum* in flesh-foods, intoxicants and sexual pleasure is the recognised means of arriving at the stage of abstention from them. It is well-known what a source of deep and extensive degradation this popular notion has been. Mr. Cousins naturally speaks with more confidence about the English poetry of Mrs. Naidu, and his verdict is worth quoting :

"All through Devi Sarojini's work there are many lines of delicate imaginative beauty that must remain unrisfled treasures to readers unacquainted with the East." "She has already added to literature something Keats-like in its frank but perfectly pure sensuousness." "It is because of the measure of unique accomplishment and optimistic prophecy that emerges from the most searching criticism of Mrs. Naidu's work that one feels a pang of regret to find from the daily newspaper that the flares of the public platform often lure her away from the radiance of her 'moon-enchanted estuary of dreams'" ".....such song as she has sung, and is capable of singing, is amongst the greatest and most essential gifts of service which she can render to her country in the time of its response to the re-incarnating spirit of Renaissance, and to the world in the hour of its crying need for pure and healing utterance."

Mr. Cousins' appreciation of the Bengal school of painters, both in detail and as a whole, forms the best portion of his book, and is profoundly interesting. He finds in this school "a fusion of the detailed observation of realism with the suggestiveness of impressionism," and speaks of "the inner vision, the emotional and spiritual revelation, that is the special characteristic of the new Indian school,"



and of "the microscopic delicacy" as well as "the largeness and strength" of the pictures. The true and only subject of these painters is life.

"They themselves are alive, and love life....They take with them the deep compassion of the sense of unity which is India's contribution to the thought of the world." "Personality of the emphatic type that is characteristic of so much of the art of Europe is not to be found in these painters of the East." "These pictures do not invite with glitter and noise. They commune with themselves, and those who have the eye to see along with them find entrance to a world of entrancing spiritual beauty."

Mr. Cousins attended the exhibition of the Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta in 1916, and again in January of this year (1918), and here are his second impressions :

"If the movement is vital, not merely epidemic and transient, it must attract and inspire new workers, it must show a forward tendency in the work of already recognised members, and it must show a springtime search after variety in the expressions of its life. The present exhibition responds liberally to these three requirements." "It is a consolation and an inspiration to contemplate the achievements and prophecies of the modern Indian school of painting, and to bathe in the joy of renescent youth that has behind it the steady tradition of ages and the ageless vision of eternal Beauty.....whereas, in other schools of the painting art, one is oppressed by the feeling that a fragment of the spirit has been made fixed and definite, in the work of these Indian painters there is a joyous sense of release from the tyranny of the symbol and a passing through the seen to the unseen. In a word, they have learnt the secret of raising the static to the ecstatic."

Finally, the author speaks of the Orientation of Western Literature. Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam, Bain's Indian stories, Arnold's Light of Asia, Emerson's poems, are instances of the "steady turning of English literature towards the East both in letter and spirit." "Yeats, the peerless Irish poet, sings his 'Indian Song', and A.E. his immortal brother-singer of the 'India of the West,' Ireland, sings of Srikrishna in a poem that carries the reader off his feet..." "Within five years, a literature has gathered round Bolpur and its poet-teacher, Rabindranath; and a special number of an authoritative French art Journal has been devoted to the work of the Bengal painters." At the same time, Indian poets like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as well as her brother Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, "who sings the ancient spiritual ecstasy of India in English verse of fine quality" and "whose work presents a complicated problem in its exquisite importation of Oriental vision and magic to English poetry," are helping on the movement by making English the vehicle of their interpretation of India to the West. All this foreshadows "the development of the spiritual consciousness which has not yet been fully awakened in English literature, and the ultimate realisation of the one spiritual urge in all literary expression East and West."

A BENGALI BRAHMAN.

## BRAHMANISM IN EAST BORNEO

IN the current issue of the *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-Land-En Volkerkunde Van Nederlandsch-Inde* Professor J. Ph. Vogel, late of the Archaeological Survey of India, has contributed a very interesting English article entitled "The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman, from Koetei (East Borneo)" (pp. 167-232). In this article the author deals with four Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape in archaic type of the ancient Grantha characters of Southern India and assigned to about 400 A. D. on palæological grounds. The stones were discovered in 1879 in the Native State of Koetei, East

Borneo and presented by the Sultan of Koetei to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The inscriptions were first edited by the late Prof. Kern thirty-six years ago. Prof. Vogel in the article under notice gives a revised version of the records which read as follows :

A

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (1) श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य | (2) कुण्डलस्य महात्मनः [ 1 ]            |
| (3) उग्रोद्यवर्धो विख्यातः  | (4) वंशकर्ता यथांशुमान् [ ॥ ]           |
| (5) तस्य पुत्रा महात्मनः    | (6) द्रव्यस्य इवाश्रयः [ 1 ]            |
| (7) तेषां त्रयाणाम् वरः     | (8) तपोबलदमाश्रितः [ ॥ ]                |
| (9) श्रीमूलवर्धो राजेन्द्रो | (10) यष्टा बहुधुवर्धकम् [ 1 ]           |
| (11) तस्य मन्त्रस्य यूपोयम् | (12) दिजेन्द्रो मन्त्रस्य कल्पितः [ ॥ ] |



## TRANSLATION.

"The illustrious lord-of-men, the great Kundungu, had a famous son, Asva-varman (*by name*), who, like unto Ansumant, was the founder of a noble race. His were three eminent sons resembling the three sacrificial fires. Foremost amongst these three and distinguished by austeritv, strength, and self-restraint was the illustrious Mulavarman, the lord-of-kings, who had sacrificed a Bahusuvarnaka sacrifice. For that sacrifice this sacrificial post has been prepared by the chief amongst the twice-born."

## B.

- (1) श्रीमतो नृपमुख्यस्य (2) राज्ञः श्रीमूलवर्मणः [1]  
 (3) दानं पुण्यतमे क्षेत्रे (4) यद्दत्तम् वप्रकेन्द्रे [11]  
 (5) दिजातिभ्योपिक्रियेभ्यः (6) विंशतिर्गोसहस्रिकम् [1]  
 (7) तस्य पुण्यस्य युषोयम् कृतो विप्रैरिहागते [ : ] [11]

## TRANSLATION.

"When the illustrious and eminent prince, King Mulavarman, had given a gift of a thousand kine and a score to the twice-born who resemble the sacrificial fires, at the most blessed field [*named*] Vaprakesvara,—for that deed of merit this sacrificial post has been made by the priests who had come hither."

## C.

- (1) श्रीमद्विराजकीर्त्तेः (2) राज्ञः श्रीमूलवर्मणः पुण्यम् [1]  
 (3) शृणन्तु विप्रमुख्याः (4) ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुषाः [11]  
 (5) बहुदान-जीवदानम् (6) सकल्पवृत्तं सभूमिदानञ्च [1]  
 (7) तेषाम्पुण्य गणानाम् (8) युषोयं स्थापितो विप्रैः [11]

## TRANSLATION.

"Let the foremost amongst the priests and whatsoever other pious men [*there be*] hear of the meritorious deed of Mulavarman, the king of illustrious and resplendent fame—[*let them hear*] of his great gift, his gift of cattle (?), his gift of a wonder-tree, his gift of land. For these multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the priests."

## D.

- (1) समस्तस्य यथा राज्ञः (2) ससुतपुत्रो भगीरथः [1]  
 (3) .....(4) मूलवर्मे.....[11]

According to Kern the name of Mulavarman's grandfather Kundunga is non-Sanskritic and barbarous. So probably it was in his reign, about the middle of the fourth century A. D., that Brahmanic civilisation was introduced into East Borneo. It was introduced into Annam (ancient Champa) still earlier. The earliest Sanskrit inscription found in Annam is ascribed to the third (or perhaps to the second) century of the Christian era. Another Sanskrit inscription attributed to about 400 A. D. refers to a sacrifice instituted on behalf of the Dharmamaharaja Bhadravarman (p. 189). These records show that in the glorious days of the Imperial Guptas in the North and the Pallavas in the South not only the Bauddhas and the Saivas, but also the orthodox followers of the Vedic *Karmakanda* did not feel any scruple to cross the sea and admit barbarian princes to the Vedic fold.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Indians and the Colonies.

In the pages of the *Indian Review* for August M. K. Gandhi points out the highly deceptive nature of the Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of Indians emigrating to the Colonies. This is what he says :

We need not consider it a great achievement that we can pass the same laws against the colonials that they may pass against us. It is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow.

Who is to refuse permission and passports to the colonials desiring to enter India? But Indians, no matter what their attainments, are constantly being refused permission to enter the colonies even for temporary periods. South African legislation of emigration was purged of the racial taint, by the passive resistance movement. But the administrative principles still continue and will do so, so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.

The agreement arrived at regarding those who are already domiciled practically restates the terms of the settlement of 1914. If it extends to Canada



and Australia it is a decided gain, for in Canada till recently there was a big agitation owing to the refusal of its Government to admit the wives and children of its Sikh settlers. I may perhaps add that the South African settlement provides for the protection of those who had plural wives before the settlement, especially if the latter had at any time entered South Africa. It may be the proper thing in a predominantly Christian country to confine the legality to only one wife. But it is necessary even for that country, in the interests of humanity and for the sake of friendship for members of the same Imperial Federation to which they belong administratively, to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

The above agreement still evades the question of inequality of status in other matters:—Thus the difficulty of obtaining licenses throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State and virtual prohibition within the Union itself of the entry of Indians into the Free States, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of Municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa, barring perhaps the Cape. There is no change of heart in the colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India.

### The Education of Sudras in Ancient India.

K. Ananthachari writing in the *Everyman's Review* for September tries to establish from records gathered from the *Puranas* and the epic *Mahabharata* that, in ancient India, "not only the Sudras but even the non-Aryans were allowed to drink in the same fountain of Brahminic learning." This is a very bold statement to make. The writer himself admits that "a Brahmin of yore would not, as a rule, give lessons on the Vedas to a Sudra," and who knows that the few instances of Sudras "picking up knowledge in literature, mathematics, history, astrology, science, etc.," which he gathers, were not exceptions rather than the rule. The treatment meted out to the Sudras by the Brahmins of yore and the state of perpetual ignorance in which they were kept by their Brahmin masters are far too well known to leave any doubts. However let us hear what the writer has to say.

In the Dharma Sastras every one be he a Brahmin or a Sudra, has been strongly urged to educate his children. It has been clearly said that the parents would be enemies if they fail or neglect to educate the son.

Manu sets forth in one place that women, learning, picture, cleanliness, good words, and *Shilpa* (arts) may be gathered from anybody and calls upon a Brahmin to acquire healthy knowledge from a Sudra.

(II-138, 240) Manu. That in times of distress, when no Brahmin preceptor is available, a Brahmacharin must be the pupil of a non-Brahmin and revere him as a Brahmin *Guru*. Now, how could it be possible to learn from a Sudra if he were prohibited from learning letters?

In those days it was quite necessary to learn the letters for transacting the ordinary business of life. Rules have been laid down for drawing up documents. But how could a Sudra sign his name on the record as a witness, debtor or creditor if he were not allowed to read and write? Of course, education was not made compulsory for the Sudras as it was for the three higher castes.

Of all the Puranas the *Brahma Purana* is the oldest. It says that a Sudra who has undergone the rules of his caste and who has acquired sufficient knowledge in *Shastras* becomes (as good as) a twice-born.

Next comes Vishnu Purana. In it it has been stated that Vedavyasa wrote a *Purana Sanhita* which he taught to a Sudra, Romeharshana, who in his turn taught six of his disciples three of whom were non-Brahmins. Each of these three disciples wrote a separate Purana. The Vishnu Purana was compiled from the *Sanhita* written by Vedavyasa and the three Puranas written by the three Sudras. This almost settles the question. The other Puranas, such as the *Garuda Purana* and others, say that secular education may be imparted to everyone irrespective of caste.

Taking definite examples we see that Vidura, who was born of a Sudra mother, and according to the ancient custom, was of the same caste as the mother, was not only well up in Literature, Philosophy and Politics but in foreign languages as well.

Again Karna, who was also a Sudra but of a very low order, was a thorough politician and good administrator. The *Mahabharata* clearly states that after bathing, Karna used to utter Vedic Mantras when offering oblations to the Sun-God. So we find that though Karna was known in his childhood as a mere Sudra boy, he found no obstacles in getting a liberal education according to the natural bent of his mind.

The third example is that of Dharma Vyadha. Now a Vyadha cannot be a twice-born. Hunting was his hereditary profession. He had a daughter named Arjunika whom he gave in marriage to Matanga—a Rishi. One day the mother-in-law of Arjunika rallied her in good-set terms for her being the daughter of a huntsman and consequently being ignorant of the duties of a Brahmin wife. Thereupon Arjunika left her house and laid the affair before her father. The father immediately called upon the father-in-law of his daughter. An altercation followed in which the pious huntsman quoted Scriptures copiously and succeeded in putting the Rishi down in religious arguments. He even gave the substance of the Vedic texts if not actually quoted them (*Varahapurana*, Chapter VII).

### The Course of English Poetry

is thus described by Aurobindo Ghose in the pages of *Arya* for August.

It began by a quite external, a clear and superficial substance and utterance. It proceeded to a deeper vital poetry, a poetry of the power and beauty and wonder and spontaneous thought, the joy and passion and pain, the colour and music of Life, in



which the external presentation of life and things was taken up, but exceeded and given its full dynamic and imaginative content. From that it turned to an attempt at mastering the secret of the Latins, the secret of a clear, measured and intellectual dealing with life, things and ideas. Then came an attempt, a brilliant and beautiful attempt to get through Nature and thought and the mentality in life and Nature and their profounder aesthetic suggestion to certain spiritual truths behind them. This attempt could not come to perfect fruition, partly because there had not been the right intellectual preparation or a sufficient basis of spiritual knowledge and experience and only so much could be given as the solitary individual intuition of the poet could by a sovereign effort attain, partly because after the lapse into an age of reason the spontaneous or the intenser language of spiritual poetry could not always be found or, if found, could not be securely kept. So we get a deviation into another age of intellectual, artistic or reflective poetry with a much wider range, but less profound in its roots, less high in its growth; and partly out of this, partly by a recoil from it has come the turn of recent and contemporary poetry which seems at last to be approaching the secret of the utterance of profounder truth with its right magic of speech and rhythm.

### The writer goes on to say

We get the first definite starting-point of this movement in the poetry of Chaucer when the rough poverty of the Anglo-Saxon mind first succeeded in assimilating the French influence and refining and clarifying by that its speech and its aesthetic sense.

The spirit of English poetry having struck its first strong note, a characteristic English note, having got as far as the Anglo-Saxon mind, refined by French and Italian influence, could go in its own proper way and unchanged nature, came suddenly to a pause. Many outward reasons might be given for that, but none sufficient; for the real cause was that to have developed upon this line would have been to wander up and down in a cul-de-sac; it would have been to anticipate in a way in poetry the self-imprisonment of Dutch art in a strong externalism, of a fairer kind indeed, but still too physical and outward in its motive. English poetry had greater things to do and it waited for some new light and more powerful impulse to come. Still this external motive and method are native to the English mind and with many modifications have put their strong impress upon the literature. It is the method of English fiction from Richardson to Dickens; it got into the Elizabethan drama and prevented it, except in Shakespeare, from equalling the nobler work of other great periods of dramatic poetry. It throws its limiting shade over English narrative poetry, which after its fresh start in the symbolism of the *Faery Queen* and the vital intensity of Marlowe ought either to have got clear away from it or at least to have transmuted it by the infusion of much higher artistic motives. To give only one instance in many, it got sadly in the way of Tennyson, who yet had no real turn for the reproduction of life, and prevented him

from working out the fine subjective and mystic vein which his first natural intuitions had discovered in such work as the *Lady of Shalott* and the *Morte d'Arthur*; we have to be satisfied instead with the *Princess* and *Enoch Arden* and the picturesque triviality of the *Idylls of the King* which give us the impression of gentlemen and ladies of Victorian drawing-rooms masquerading as Celtic mediæval knights and dames, with a meaning of some kind in it; all that does not come home to us because it is lost in a falsetto mimicking of the external strains of life.

The new light and impulse that set free the silence of the poetic spirit in England for its first abundant and sovereign utterance, came from the Renaissance in France and Italy. The Renaissance meant many things and it meant too different things in different countries, but one thing above all everywhere, the discovery of beauty and joy in every energy of life. The Middle Ages had lived strongly and with a sort of deep and sombre force, but, as it were, always under the shadow of death and under the burden of an obligation to aspire through suffering to a beyond; their life is bordered on one side by the cross and on the other by the sword. The Renaissance brings in the sense of a liberation from the burden and the obligation; it looks at life and loves it in excess; it is carried away by the beauty of the body and the senses and the intellect, the beauty of sensation and action and speech and thought,—of thought hardly at all for its own sake, but thought as a power of life. It is Hellenism returning with its strong sense of humanity and things human, *nihil humani alienum*, but at first a barbarised Hellenism, unbridled and extravagant, riotous in its vitalistic energy, too much overjoyed for restraint and measure.

Elizabethan poetry is an expression of this energy, passion and wonder of life, and it is much more powerful, disorderly and unrestrained than the corresponding poetry in other countries, having neither a past traditional culture nor an innate taste to restrain its extravagances. It springs up in a chaos of power and of beauty in which forms emerge and shape themselves by a stress within it, for which there is no clear guiding knowledge, except such as the instinctive genius of the age and the individual can give. It is constantly shot through with brilliant treads of intellectual energy, but is not at all intellectual in its innate spirit and dominant character. It is too vital for that, too much moved and excited; for its mood is passionate, sensuous, loose of rein; its speech sometimes liquid with sweetness, sometimes vehement and inordinate in pitch, enamoured of the variety of its notes, revelling in image and phrase, a tissue of sweet or violent colours, of manyhued fire, of threads of golden and silver light.

It bestowed on the nation a new English speech, rich in capacity, gifted with an extraordinary poetic intensity and wealth and copiousness, but full also of the disorder and excess of new formation. A drama exultant in action and character, passion and incident and movement, a lyric and romantic poetry of marvellous sweetness, richness and force are its strong fruits.



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### The New Women Voters.

Of recent events of importance happening in England which have a world-wide interest the granting of suffrage to women is one of the greatest. In the course of a luminous article contributed to the *Review of Reviews* (London) Millicent Garrett Fawcett tells us that the struggle which led to this achievement "has been fairly long but it has never been dreary," as many friends of the movement think. In fact, "it has all along been punctuated by victory after victory for one phase or another of the women's cause."

Taking the introduction of J. S. Mill's amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867 as the starting-point, two years after that women were admitted to the Local Government franchise; the next year, 1870, when the first Education Act was passed, women as well as men became electors of the newly formed School Boards, and women as well as men were made eligible for sitting upon them. Three women were elected for London, one for Manchester, one for Edinburgh, and in every one of these cases the women thus chosen were prominently identified with the Suffrage movement. In that same year, too, 1870, a Woman's Suffrage Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons. Great work was also going on in the decade 1870-1880 for women's education. The Girls' Public Day School Company was founded, and the Charity Commissioners revised the educational endowments of the country, reclaiming for the benefit of girls' education many ancient endowments originally intended for them which had been absorbed by the other sex during the dark ages of our movement. The universities were gradually opened and from 1877 onwards the victory was won for women's medical education. In the May, 1918, examinations for medical degrees at the University of London considerably more than half of the successful candidates were women.

The first Guardianship of Children Act was passed during the more early years, and also the first Married Women's Property Act. Before the passing of these Acts no married woman had any rights at all as a guardian of her children nor any control over her own property, not even over her earnings. The heroic and eventually successful fight of Mrs. Josephine Butler against the Contagious Diseases Acts (which had been passed in 1866 and in 1868, the one by a Conservative, the other by a Liberal Government) was initiated in the same period, and culminated in the repeal of the Acts in 1886. All this time suffrage work was going vigorously forward. Innumerable meetings were held; the political parties were bombarded with resolutions and amendments brought forward in their own party meetings. All the suffrage societies were growing in membership and in financial strength. Speaking of the one I know best, the National Union of Women's Suffrage

Societies, it grew from about 30 societies when it was first formed to 70 in 1909, and to over 500 societies in 1914, while our budget in the years just before the war averaged over £42,000 per annum.

Instead of fifty years "in the wilderness" I should be inclined to speak of fifty years spent in cultivating a fertile soil, and the labourers being constantly cheered by abundant harvests. Even in point of time, I claim that the fifty years from 1867 to 1917 which it took women to win household suffrage are not an extraordinarily long time for so big a job, especially when we remember that it took men 52 years, from 1832 to 1884, to gain household suffrage for themselves. They only accomplished this in two steps, one in 1867 and one in 1884; whereas household suffrage for women, for such the recent Act amounts to, was carried at a single legislative stroke. It must be remembered also that men had many advantages in their struggle which were denied to us. The Reform Act of 1832 gave them a jumping-off place of an organised representative system which had created a constituency of about 500,000 men; moreover men had behind them the invaluable tradition of 700 years of political freedom for their own sex. We could not muster one single vote between us; and instead of the tradition of freedom behind us, we had the tradition of thousands of years of political subjection, a tradition in the earlier years unbroken in any part of the world. Therefore to advance to the point of household suffrage minus these advantages in slightly better time than our brothers is a performance of which we have no cause to be ashamed.

These are in the main educative; they are non-party and non-sectarian, and are designed to foster the sense of citizenship among women, to encourage the study by them of civic, political and economic questions, and to accustom the women voters to the sense of strength which comes of united action.

An isolated individual can do little, but union gives strength; and if a woman belongs to an organised body she can help very materially to enable the country to utilise politically the domestic experience of women; for we feel that one of the national benefits of women's suffrage should be the use of the experience of women of all classes both in the making of the laws and in the carrying of them out. Women will more vividly probably than men see things from the domestic point of view and realise how the home and children will be affected by legislation or by the want of it. Very few men, for instance, realised when the Eight Hours Bill for miners was passed how very hardly it might bear on the domestic work of the wife and mother. If it happens that a husband and two sons are working on each of the three shifts into which the twenty-four hours are divided her work is practically never done. Each man very properly demands a hot meal before starting work and takes two meals with him; moreover he requires a hot bath on his return. The fire never goes out and the mother's work is never done. This could be avoided by a little thought and a little organisation; and now that women are voters it may be expected that this thought and organisation will be brought to bear on the solution of domestic problems.



The splendid activity of women's societies all over England in anticipation of and in preparation for the next general election is then described. These societies are responsible for the calling into being of Women Citizens' Associations.

Women Citizens' Associations are springing up in every part of the country, and much good may be expected of them. Leaflets and pamphlets on the subject are in great demand from the office of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and also from that of the National Union of Women Workers. Before the war Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool, started a Women Citizens' Association in Liverpool, which has proved of great use in encouraging the intelligent study of political and municipal subjects and in awakening in women voters a sense of their responsibility. In all probability the growth of Women Citizens' Associations will be a marked feature in the development of organised work among the voters.

The first political effect of the passing of the Representation of the People Act in February on the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was to cause it to adopt a very wide extension of its aims. Up to that date it had had but one object, "the franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men," and as this object has not yet been attained the Union will continue to work for it; but it has added to its objects the securing of all such reforms, legislative, economic and social, as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women.

### Bolshevik Rule in Russia.

"Russia under the Workmen's and Peasants' Government is not at all what the bourgeois reporters and diplomats and business men have made us believe." This is what is asserted by John Reed in the pages of the American journal *Liberator*. Our readers will find from the following extracts that the Bolshevik is not, after all, as black as he is painted. In fact, he is striving to make Russia better and nobler than anything she has ever been.

As for the disorganisation, that was accomplished under Nicholas the Second—who, as everybody then knew, wrecked the Russian army and the Russian system of transportation in order to bring about a separate peace with Germany; it was intensified by the bourgeois element in the Coalition Government of Kerensky, in order to wreck the Revolution.....The Bolsheviks inherited a ruined Russia, whose soldiers were deserting in millions, whose transportation system was in a state of dissolution—a Russia starving and exhausted. At the time of the peace treaty with Germany, Russia was not so disorganised as it had been the last two months of the Kerensky regime. There was more food in the cities, better order in the streets, and a quickening of Russian life such as had never before occurred in her history.....Kerensky had merely perpetuated, under the slightly-changed conditions of capitalism, the institutions of Tsardom; under the Bolshevik regime there sprang

up an entirely new conception of the state—new political forms (the Soviets); new industrial organisation (The Factory Shop Committees); a new educational system, from top to bottom, a new kind of national army and navy; a new agrarian scheme, and a tremendous and myriad-formed outburst of popular expression, in thousands of newspapers, books, pamphlets, in ceremonies and songs, in the theatre—rich, happy and free.....

The "tyranny" of the Bolsheviks exists largely in the minds of interested persons who rarely if ever object to the violation of the rights of free speech and free assembly in other parts of the world. Yes, newspapers were suppressed in Russia, people were put in jail, Bolshevik commissars made illegal searches and requisitions. But it will surprise Americans to learn that *almost nobody in Russia was or is in jail because of his opinions.*

As for the arrests, only those persons who were proved to be involved in plots of armed counter-revolution, those who were caught grafting, those who were responsible for the dissemination of lies, and the most active members of the old Provisional Government, were imprisoned.

The stories about bloodshed are of course ridiculously false.

The workers in the factories, the soldiers in the barracks, the peasants in the villages got enough to eat, enough heat and light—pretty short rations, it is true, but still as much as Russians have been getting ever since the Tsar in his infinite wisdom tried to starve Russia into peace in 1916.....And the two-course dinner which the bourgeois traveler had to pay sixty roubles for in the Hotel d'Europe, I could get for two and a half roubles in the great communal dining hall of Smolny Institute.

The Bolshevik state—it is hard for us to understand, for it is no bourgeois parliamentary democracy, in which theoretically every man has a vote, and practically a small capitalist group rules; it is a dictatorship of the proletariat, of the unskilled, propertyless masses of the people, for the purpose of forcibly and permanently wrenching from the hands of the property-owning class the weapons of its dominance. In its resistance to this process, the Russian bourgeoisie has shown itself ready to join the Kaiser himself.

### The Evolution of Revolution.

A profoundly thoughtful article under the above heading appears in the *Quarterly Review* from the pen of H. M. Hyndman, the well known English socialist.

The word revolution is loosely used, in ordinary language, to cover many forms of political and social transformation. In the definite historic sense, revolution means a complete change of the economic, social and class relations in any country, which, whether brought about peaceably or forcibly, ends in the general legalization of the new system. Mere political revolts are not social revolutions. They may represent a serious attempt at social and economic change from below, or they may be only the displacement of a governing family, or clique, above. To-day, we speak of the revolts in China and Russia as revolutions. Nevertheless, the social and economic modifications in those great countries, below the surface, have, so far, been very small. In neither case has there yet been a reconstruction of society; and,



in fact, the true revolution in both countries has only just begun.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the human race than the unconsciousness of mankind in their progress from one period of social development to another. Even a hundred and fifty years ago, or less, the greatest brains of our own period understood no more of approaching social changes than the ablest philosophers of antiquity did about the rise of a city, or its decline. The conditions which made for slave owning had created a form of society apparently so permanent that any crucial change seemed impossible. Religion gave no hint; ethics led nowhere; only economics, the lessons of which were entirely unapprehended, at last enforced a change and compelled the gradual transformation. The power of the great landlords and slave owners of Rome and antiquity generally declined, not by the invasion of the barbarians from without, but by causes which silently sapped the edifice within.

A really complete revolution may be accomplished without bloodshed, at the critical time, when all is ready for the change. But the revolts against an existing form of domination, before that stage has been reached, have been invariably unsuccessful and often accompanied by horrible cruelty and massacres. It is just the failure of such revolts, when they come before their time, which compels us to regard the process of class domination through the centuries in the light of a natural phenomenon, unmoved by feeling and uninfluenced by morality of any kind. The inevitable change marches slowly and relentlessly onward over the heaps of slaughtered human bodies piled beneath the juggernaut car of economic advance.

The risings of the slaves against Roman slaveholders in Italy, Sicily, and the Provinces were fully justifiable. But their repeated efforts to obtain freedom failed to win any general amelioration of their condition. To all appearance slavery in both East and West was a permanent institution. Its continuance in full vigor depended, however, upon causes that were beginning to disappear; thus its base was rotting even when it seemed at the height of its power. The two elements which enabled slave cultivation and slave production generally to hold their own were the cheapness of slaves themselves on the market and the cheapness of their keep as compared with the wealth they produced. Cheapness on the market depended upon the supply of slaves being kept up by conquest or by domestic breeding; and supply by conquest was the far more important source. When this failed, the value of slaves inevitably rose. Slave labor, too, is always relatively inefficient. The exhaustion of soil, which almost invariably accompanied its use, by degrees increased both the cost of production and the price of maintenance. Moreover, the difficulty and expense of replacement rendered greater care of the slaves and less pressure upon them essential. Hence the labor of free men became more and more important, and slave production less and less profitable.

The most reactionary annalists of the period admit that the downfall of the *Ancienne Noblesse* was due to economic causes rather than to violence. The old system of privilege and exemption from national taxation could not work any longer. It was not the licentiousness, extravagance, and cruelty of the aristocracy which brought them down. So long as they chiefly lived on their estates, like the Junkers of to-day, and conducted their own business, all this turpitude, however objectionable morally,

failed to shake their power. When, however, they betook themselves to Court, managed their estates through agents, and combined with the Church to fleece their countrymen for no advantage to the rising middle class, they fell, because they had become not only vicious but obviously useless. They could not even handle effectively the means of resistance at their hand. 'Why did you run away?' the fugitive nobles were asked at Cologne. 'Nous étions des lâches,' was the reply. They were not physically cowards—both men and women proved this at the crisis of their fate; but they felt that their position could not be defended, so they lacked the moral courage to hold on.

The same causes made themselves felt in the great development of capitalist production and factory industry which, beginning in its recognized shape in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, has spread and is still spreading over the civilized world. This change moved far more rapidly than any previous social modification. But it went forward in this island, as well as later in the United States, without any national superintendence or control. The horrors thus engendered fully equaled any of the chattel-slave or serf period. Children of tender years were never deliberately worked to death for the profit of the slave owner or the feudal lord, as they were by capitalist employers at the end of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth century. But the resistance of the wage-earners proved as useless as the previous risings against slave owners, nobles, and land expropriators had been futile. Luddite anarchist destruction of machinery, Chartist organized denunciation and physical-force movements against the capitalists had no effect. Within a century or less, Great Britain was revolutionized from an agricultural country into being almost entirely a nation of manufacturers and profiteers. The peasant became a landless wage-earner; the land population was drafted into cities; and the cities grew up with the most crowded and miserable dens in which a pauperized proletariat had ever been housed. Such limitations as there were to the employer's power to work women and children to death were chiefly due to opposition made by the landowners to the factory-owner class that was depriving them of political control.

Thus the transformation from home production and domestic industry to importation from abroad and great factory industry—one of the greatest economic and social revolutions ever known in any country—was achieved in Great Britain, not certainly without much perturbation and discontent culminating in armed violence, but relatively to the crucial character of the change effected, with little bloodshed. Once more, individual revolts against economic conditions failed; for the victory of the capitalist and profiteering class was complete.

James H. Dillard contributes a very thoughtful article to the *Crisis* for July on

### Education.

Covering the brief space of a page and a half, it is one of the most sane and ably written articles on the subject that we have read for many a day. We are in full agreement with the views of the writer and draw the attention of all Indian educa-



tionists and the honorable member of the Imperial Council who is in charge of the portfolio of education. Says the writer :

I have frequently said : I do not believe in industrial education. I do not believe in academic education. I believe in education. The question how we are to get education has, in my opinion, no definite answer. Three of the best educated men I have ever known went to school but two or three years in their lives. Yet they knew how to use their minds, they had high vision and broad vision, and they loved art and good literature. Looking back over my own experience I find that the place to which I look with most gratitude for what help in education I received was a one-room school ; but there was a great-minded man in that one-room school. He was one of two men whom I have ever met who could really read Latin and Greek. He knew the whole range of history, and he took us boys into his confidence. So it comes from my experience that I would have for answer to the question, how to get education, only this : yourself, wanting to learn ; and a real man, wanting to teach. All our modern expensive equipment, so far as real education goes, is as nothing in comparison.

As things go, I think it is well for us to have both *book* teaching and *thing* teaching, and for real education I value the latter very largely because of its reaction upon the former. I can see that when I was a boy at school I did not think back of the words to the facts or things represented by the words. I can sympathize fully with the boy to whom China was yellow because the map was yellow, and Russia pink because the map was pink. I did not connect even mensuration in Arithmetic with actual things, although the words named the things. I should have been shocked if told to get on the floor and actually measure it. It seems to me that dealing with things, doing things with hands, has a tendency to correct this danger of having the mind stop with the words and fail to project the thought to what the words mean.

There is, of course, an educational value in knowing how to do things, whether it be to make a table or a biscuit, or to raise cabbage. There certainly is an educational value in such work if the instructor insist that the table sit steady, that the biscuit be a good one, and the cabbage-planting be done just right. Accuracy is one of the marks of an educated man. But in my own mind I confess that the material benefit of what is called industrial education comes second.

I can never think of education as depending on grades, high or low. I am sure that I got more of what seems to me to be education from the one-room school than I got from my course in college. And yet for the sake of knowledge we have the grades from the primary to university, and I am sure that we should neglect none. I think moreover that every boy and girl should have a chance at all of them if he or she can be benefited thereby. Knowing, however, the inevitable fact that the great majority for a long time to come are to be in the so-called lower grades of education, I am sure that relatively much more money should be spent than at present on these lower grades. Even for the sake of the colleges this should be.

What we need is education, rather than any particular kind or grade. Some day perhaps another Socrates, or Froebel, or Rousseau may tell us some surer way of going for the thing. At present we know nothing beyond the fact, which is certainly sure as far as it goes, that the necessary factor is the educated and consecrated personality of the teacher. We are in great danger in America of thinking too highly of machinery and system. The process of machinery and system, however efficiently we may use the machinery and apply the system, may be called education—but is it ? It surely is not unless it carries with it the idea that its main concern is not the fine machinery or the perfect system. It must know that the real thing is the personal contact and individual instruction, through which the child or youth learns to use his powers, and comes to find, in the best use of these powers which God has given him, be they great or small, the value and meaning of life.

It may be well to emphasize the fact that in using the word education I have not meant knowledge, either general or technical. The two words have naturally been confused, because, of course, in getting knowledge there is likely to be some acquirement of education, and in getting education there is sure to be some acquirement of knowledge. So it happens that in practice we merge the two. I doubt if a satisfactory definition of education can be given. We may perhaps put it this way : In each of us there is a real self, and education is the process of leading forth this real self into the free play of good desires and true uses. Or more simply, perhaps we may say that the educated man is one who has a liberal and generous mind and is capable and desirous of leading a useful life.

## AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

### CHAPTER X. NIKHIL'S STORY.

#### II.

I LEARNT from my master that Sandip had joined forces with Harish Kundu, and there was to be a grand celebration of the worship of the demon-destroying

Goddess. Harish Kundu was extorting the expenses from his tenantry. Pandits Kaviratna and Vidyavagish had been commissioned to compose a hymn with a double meaning.

My master has just had a passage at arms with Sandip over this. "Evolution



is at work amongst the gods as well," says Sandip. "The grandson has to remodel the gods created by the grandfather to suit his own taste, or else he is left an atheist. It is my mission to modernise the ancient deities. I am born the saviour of the gods, to emancipate them from the thralldom of the past."

I have seen from our boyhood what a juggler with ideas is Sandip. He has no interest in discovering truth, but to make a quizzical display of it rejoices his heart. Had he been born in the wilds of Africa he would have spent a glorious time inventing argument after argument to prove that cannibalism is the best means of promoting true communion between man and man. But those who deal in delusion end by deluding themselves, and I fully believe that, each time Sandip creates a new fallacy, he persuades himself that he has found the truth, however contradictory his creations may be to one another.

However, I shall not give a helping hand to establish a liquor distillery in my country. The young men, who are ready to offer their services for their country's cause, must not fall into this habit of getting intoxicated. The people who want to exact work by drugging methods set more value on the excitement than on the minds they intoxicate.

I had to tell Sandip, in Bimala's presence, that he must go. Perhaps both will impute to me the wrong motive. But I must free myself also from all fear of being misunderstood. Let even Bimala misunderstand me. . . .

A number of Mahomedan preachers are being sent over from Dacca. The Mussulmans in my territory had come to have almost as much of an aversion to the killing of cows as the Hindus. But now cases of cow-killing are cropping up here and there. I had the news first from some of my Mussulman tenants with expressions of their disapproval. Here was a situation which I could see would be difficult to meet. At the bottom was a pretence of fanaticism, which would cease to be a pretence if obstructed. That is just where the ingenuity of the move came in!

I sent for some of my principal Hindu tenants and tried to get them to see the matter in its proper light. "We can be staunch in our own convictions," I said, "but we have no control over those of

others. For all that many of us are *Vaishnavas*, those of us who are *Shaktas* go on with their animal sacrifices just the same. That cannot be helped. We must, in the same way, let the Mussulmans do as they think best. So please refrain from all disturbance."

"Maharaja," they replied, "these outrages have been unknown for so long."

"That was so," I said, "because such was their spontaneous desire. Let us behave in such a way that the same may become true, over again. But a breach of the peace is not the way to bring this about."

"No, Maharaja," they insisted, "those good old days are gone. This will never stop unless you put it down with a strong hand."

"Oppression," I replied, "will not only not prevent cow killing, it may lead to the killing of men as well."

One of them had an English education. He had learnt to repeat the phrases of the day. "It is not only a question of orthodoxy," he argued. "Our country is mainly agricultural, and cows are . . ."

"Buffaloes in this country," I interrupted, "likewise give milk and are used for ploughing. And therefore, so long, as we dance frantic dances on our temple pavements, smeared with their blood, their severed heads carried on our shoulders, religion will only laugh at us if we quarrel with Mussulmans in her name, and nothing but the quarrel itself will remain true. If the cow alone is to be held sacred from slaughter, and not the buffalo, then that is bigotry, not religion."

"But are you not aware, Sir, of what is behind all this?" pursued the English-knowing tenant. "This has only become possible because the Mussulman is assured of safety, even if he breaks the law. Have you not heard of the Pachur case?"

"Why is it possible for them," I asked, "to use the Mussulmans, thus, as tools against us? Is it not because we have fashioned them into such with our own intolerance? That is how Providence punishes us. Our accumulated sins are being visited on our own heads."

"Oh, well, if that be so, let them be visited on us. But we shall have our revenge. We have undermined their greatest strength, which was their devotion to their own laws. Once they were truly kings, dispensing laws; now they will



become law-breakers and so no better than robbers. This may not go down to history, but we shall carry it in our hearts for all time. . . ."

The evil reports about me which are spreading from paper to paper are making me notorious. News comes that my effigy has been burnt at the river-side burning-ground of the Chakravarti's, with due ceremony and enthusiasm; and other insults are in contemplation. The trouble was that they had come to ask me to take shares in a Cotton Mill they wanted to start. I had to tell them that I did not so much mind the loss of my own money, but I would not be a party to causing a loss to so many poor shareholders.

"Are we to understand, Maharaja," said my visitors, "that the prosperity of the country does not interest you?"

"Industry may lead to the country's prosperity," I explained, "but a mere desire for its prosperity will not make for success in industry. Even when our heads were cool, our industries did not flourish. Why should we suppose that they will do so just because we have become frantic?"

"Why not say, plainly, that you will not risk your money?"

"I will put in my money when I see that it is industry which prompts you. But, because you have lighted a fire, it does not follow that you have the food to cook over it."

## 12.

What is this? Our Chakua sub-treasury looted? A remittance of Rs. 7,500 was due from there to head-quarters. The local cashier had changed the cash into small currency notes at the Government Treasury for being carried conveniently, and had kept them ready in bundles. In the middle of the night an armed band had raided the room, and wounded Kasim, the man on guard. The curious part of it was that they had taken only Rs. 6000 and left the rest scattered on the floor, though it would have been as easy to carry that away also. Anyhow, the raid of the dacoits was over; now the police raid would begin. Peace was out of the question.

When I went inside, I found the news had travelled before me. "What a terrible thing, brother," exclaimed the Senior Rani. "Whatever shall we do?"

I made light of the matter to reassure

her. "We still have something left," I said with a smile. "We shall manage to get along somehow."

"Don't joke about it, brother dear. Why are they all so angry with you? Can't you humour them? Why put everybody out?"

"I cannot let the country go to rack and ruin, even if that would please everybody."

"That was a shocking thing they did at the burning grounds. It's a crying shame to treat you so. The Junior Rani has got rid of all her fears by dint of the English-woman's teaching, but as for me, I had to send for the priest to avert the omen before I could get any peace of mind. For my sake, dear, do get away to Calcutta. I tremble to think what they may do, if you stay on here."

The Senior Rani's genuine anxiety touched me deeply.

"And, brother," she went on, "did I not warn you, it was not well to keep so much money in your room. They might get wind of it any day. It is not the money,—but who knows . . ."

To calm her I promised to remove the money to the treasury at once, and then get it away to Calcutta with the first escort going. We went together to my bedroom. The dressing room door was shut. When I knocked, Bimala called out: "I am dressing."

"I wonder at the Junior Rani," exclaimed my sister-in-law. "Dressing so early in the day! One of their *Bande Mataram* meetings, I suppose." "Robber Queen!" she called out in jest to Bimala "Are you counting your spoils inside?"

"I will attend to the money a little later," I said, as I came away to my office room outside.

I found the Police Inspector waiting for me. "Any trace of the dacoits?" I asked,

"I have my suspicions."

"On whom?"

"Kasim, the guard."

"Kasim? But was he not wounded?"

"A mere nothing. A flesh wound on the leg. Probably self-inflicted."

"But I cannot bring myself to believe it. He is such a trusted servant."

"You may have trusted him, but that does not prevent *his* being a thief. Have I not seen men trusted for 20 years together, suddenly developing . . ."

"Even if it were so, I could not send him



to gaol. But why should he have left the rest of the money lying about?"

"To put us off the scent. Whatever you may say, Maharaja, he must be an old hand at the game. He mounts guard during his watch, right enough, but I feel sure he has a finger in all the dacoities going on in the neighbourhood."

With this the Inspector proceeded to recount the various methods by which it was possible to be concerned in a dacoity twenty or thirty miles away, and yet be back in time for duty.

"Have you brought Kasim here?" I asked.

"No," was the reply, "he is in the lock-up. The Magistrate is due for the investigation."

"I want to see him," I said.

When I went to his cell he fell at my feet, weeping. "In God's name," he said, "I swear I did not do this thing."

"I do not doubt you, Kasim," I assured him. "Fear nothing. They can do nothing to you, if you are innocent."

Kasim, however, was unable to give a coherent account of the incident. He was obviously exaggerating. Four or five hundred men, big guns, numberless swords, figured in his narrative. It must have been either his disturbed state of mind, or a desire to account for his easy defeat. He would have it that this was Harish Kundu's doing; he was even sure he had heard the voice of Ekram, the head retainer of the Kundus.

"Look here, Kasim," I had to warn him, "don't you be dragging other people in with your stories. You are not called upon to make out a case against Harish Kundu, or anybody else."

### 13

On returning home I asked my master to come over. He shook his head gravely. "I see no good in this,—," said he, "this setting aside of conscience and putting the country in its place. All the sins of the country will now break out, hideous and unashamed."

"Who do you think could have. . ."

"Don't ask me. But sin is rampant. Send them all away, right away from here."

"I have given them one more day. They will be leaving the day after to-morrow."

"And another thing. Take Bimala

away to Calcutta. She is getting too narrow a view of the outside world from here, she cannot see men and things in their true proportions. Let her see the world—men and their work—give her a broad vision."

"That is exactly what I was thinking."

"Well, don't make any delay about it. I tell you, Nikhil, man's history has to be built by the united effort of all the races in the world, and therefore this selling of conscience for political reasons,—this making a fetish of one's country, won't do. I know that Europe does not at heart admit this, but there she has not the right to pose as our teacher. Men, who die for the truth, become immortal: and, if a whole people can die for the truth, it will also achieve immortality in the history of humanity. Here, in this land of India, amid the mocking laughter of Satan piercing the sky, may the feeling for this truth become real. What a terrible epidemic of sin has been brought into our country from foreign lands. . . ."

The whole day passed in the turmoil of investigation. I was tired out when I retired for the night. I left over sending my sister-in-law's money to the treasury till next morning.

I woke up from my sleep at dead of night. The room was dark. I thought I heard a moaning somewhere. Somebody must have been crying. Sounds of sobbing came heavy with tears like fitful gusts of wind in the rainy night. It seemed to me that the cry rose from the heart of my room itself. I was alone. For some days Bimala had her bed in another room adjoining mine. I rose up and when I went out I found her in the balcony lying prone upon her face on the bare floor.

This is something that cannot be written in words. He only knows it who sits in the bosom of the world and receives all its pangs in His own heart. The sky is dumb, the stars are mute, the night is still, and in the midst of it all that one sleepless cry!

We give these sufferings names, bad or good, according to the classifications of the books, but this agony which is welling up from a torn heart, pouring into the fathomless dark, has it any name? When in that midnight, standing under the silent stars, I looked upon that figure, my mind was struck with awe, and I said to myself: "Who am I to judge her!" O life,



O death, O God of the infinite existence, I bow my head in silence to the mystery which is in you.

Once I thought I should turn back. But I could not. I sat down on the ground near Bimala and placed my hand on her head. At the first touch her whole body seemed to stiffen, but the next moment the hardness gave way, and the tears burst out. I gently passed my fingers over her forehead. Suddenly her hands groping for my feet grasped them and drew them to herself, pressing them against her breast with such force that I thought her heart would break.

#### BIMALA'S STORY.

##### 16.

Amulya is due to return from Calcutta this morning. I told the servants to let me know as soon as he arrived, but could not keep still. At last I went outside to await him in the sitting room.

When I sent him off to sell the jewels I must have been thinking only of myself. It never even crossed my mind that so young a boy, trying to sell such valuable jewellery, would at once be suspected. So helpless are we women, we needs must place on others the burden of our danger. When we go to our death we drag down those who are about us.

I had said with pride that I would save Amulya,—as if she who was drowning could save others! But instead of saving him, I have sent him to his doom? My little brother, such a sister have I been to you that Death must have smiled on that Brothers' Day when I gave you my blessing,—I, who wander distracted with the burden of my own evil-doing.

I feel to-day that man is at times attacked with evil as with the plague. Some germ finds its way in from somewhere, and then in the space of one night death stalks in. Why cannot the stricken one be kept far away from the rest of the world? I, at least, have realised how terrible is the contagion,—like a fiery torch which burns that it may set the world on fire.

It struck nine. I could not get rid of the idea that Amulya was in trouble; that he had fallen into the clutches of the police. There must be great excitement in the Police Office—whose are the jewels?—where did he get them? And in the end I

shall have to furnish the answer, in public, before all the world.

What is that answer to be? Your day has come at last, Senior Rani, you whom I have so long despised. You, in the shape of the public, the world, will have your revenge. O God, save me this time, and I will cast all my pride at my sister-in-law's feet.

I could bear it no longer. I went straight to the Senior Rani. She was in the verandah, spicing her betel leaves, Thako at her side. The sight of Thako made me shrink back for a moment, but I overcame all hesitation, and making a low obeisance I took the dust of my elder sister-in-law's feet.

"Bless my soul, Junior Rani!" she exclaimed. "What has come upon you? Why this sudden reverence?"

"It is my birthday, sister," said I. "I have often caused you pain. Give me your blessing to-day that I may never do so again. My mind is so small." I repeated my obeisance and left her hurriedly, but she called me back.

"You never before told me that this was your birthday, Junior darling! Be sure to come and have lunch with me this afternoon. You positively must."

O God, let it really be my birthday to-day. Can I not be born over again? Cleanse me, my God, and purify me and give me one more trial!

I went again to the sitting room to find Sandip there. A feeling of disgust seemed to poison my very blood. The face of his which I saw in the morning light had nothing of the magic radiance of genius.

"Will you leave the room!" I blurted out.

Sandip smiled. "Since Amulya is not here," he remarked, "I should think my turn had come for a special talk."

My fate was coming back upon me. How was I to take away the right I myself had given. "I would be alone," I repeated.

"Queen," he said, "the presence of another person does not prevent your being alone. Do not mistake me for one of the crowd. I, Sandip, am always alone, even when surrounded by thousands."

"Please come some other time. This morning I am . . ."

"Waiting for Amulya?"

I turned to leave the room for sheer vexa-



tion, when Sandip drew out from the folds of his cloak that jewel casket of mine and banged it down on the marble table. I was thoroughly startled. "Has not Amulya gone, then?" I exclaimed.

"Gone where?"

"To Calcutta?"

"No," chuckled Sandip.

Ah, then my blessing had come true, in spite of all. He was saved. Let God's punishment fall on me, the thief, if only Amulya be safe.

The change in my countenance roused Sandip's scorn. "So pleased, Queen!" sneered he. "Are these jewels so very precious? How then did you bring yourself to offer them to the Goddess? Your gift was actually made. Would you now take it back?"

Pride dies hard and raises its fangs to the last. It was clear to me I must show Sandip I did not care a rap about these jewels. "If they have excited your greed," I said, "you may have them."

"My greed to-day embraces the wealth of all Bengal," replied Sandip. "Is there a greater force than greed? It is the steed of the great ones of the earth, as is the elephant, Airavat, the steed of Indra. So then these jewels are mine?"

As Sandip took up and replaced the casket under his cloak, Amulya rushed in. There were dark rings under his eyes, his lips were dry, his hair tumbled: the freshness of his youth seemed to have withered in a single day. Pangs gripped my heart as I looked on him.

"My box!" he cried, as he went straight up to Sandip without a glance at me. "Have you taken that jewel box from my trunk?"

"Your jewel box?" mocked Sandip.

"It was my trunk!"

Sandip burst out into a laugh. "Your distinctions between mine and yours are getting rather thin, Amulya," he cried. "You will die a religious preacher yet, I see."

Amulya sank on a chair with his face in his hands. I went up to him and placing my hand on his head asked him: "What is your trouble, Amulya?"

He stood straight up as he replied: "I had set my heart, Sister Rani, on returning your jewels to you with my own hand. Sandip Babu knew this, but he forestalled me."

"What do I care for my jewels?" I

said. "Let them go. No harm is done."

"Go? Where?" asked the mystified boy.

"The jewels are mine," said Sandip. "Insignia bestowed on me by my Queen!"

"No, no, no," broke out Amulya wildly. "Never, sister Rani! I brought them back for you. You shall not give them away to anybody else."

"I accept your gift, my little brother," said I. "But let him, who hankers after them, satisfy his greed."

Amulya glared at Sandip like a beast of prey, as he growled: "Look here Sandip Babu, you know that even hanging has no terrors for me. If you dare take away that box of jewels . . ."

With an attempt at a sarcastic laugh Sandip said: "You also ought to know by this time, Amulya, that I am not the man to be afraid of you."

"Queen Bee," he went on, turning to me, "I did not come here to-day to take these jewels, I came to give them to you. You would have done wrong to take my gift at Amulya's hands. In order to prevent it, I had first to make them clearly mine. Now these my jewels are my gift to you. Here they are! Patch up any understanding with this boy you like. I must go. You have been at your special talks all these days together, leaving me out of them. If special happenings now come to pass, don't blame me."

"Amulya," he continued, "I have sent on your trunks and things to your lodgings. Don't you be keeping any belongings of yours in my room any longer." With this parting shot, Sandip flung out of the room.

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"I have had no peace of mind, Amulya," I said to him, "ever since I sent you off to sell my jewels."

"Why, sister Rani?"

"I was afraid lest you should get into trouble with them, lest they should suspect you for a thief. I would rather go without that six thousand. You must now do another thing for me,—go home at once, home to your mother."

Amulya produced a small bundle and said, "But, sister, I have got the six thousand."

"Wherefrom?"

"I tried hard to get gold," he went on, without replying to my question, "but could not. So I had to bring it in notes."



"Tell me truly, Amulya, swear by me, where did you get this money?"

"That I will not tell you."

Everything seemed to grow dark before my eyes. "What terrible thing have you done, Amulya?" I cried. "Is it then. . ."

"I know you will say I got this money wrongly. Very well, I admit it. But I have paid the full price for my wrongdoing. So now the money is mine."

I no longer had any desire to learn more about it. My very blood vessels contracted, making my whole body shrink within itself.

"Take it away, Amulya," I implored. "Put it back where you got it from."

"That would be hard indeed!"

"It is not hard, brother dear. It was an evil moment when you first came to me. Even Sandip has not been able to harm you as I have done."

Sandip's name seemed to stab him.

"Sandip!" he cried. "It was you alone who made me come to know that man for what he is. Do you know, sister, he has not spent a pice out of those sovereigns he took from you. He shut himself into his room, after he left you, and gloated over the gold, pouring it out in a heap on the floor. 'This is not money,' he exclaimed, 'but the petals of the divine lotus of power; crystalised strains of music from the pipes that play in the paradise of wealth! I cannot find it in my heart to change them, for they seem longing to fulfil their destiny of adorning the neck of Beauty. Amulya, my boy, don't you look at these with your fleshly eye, they are Lakshmi's smile, the gracious radiance of Indra's queen. No, no, I can't give them up to that boor of a manager. I am sure, Amulya, he was telling us lies. The police haven't traced the man who sunk that boat. It's the manager who wants to make something out of it. We must get those letters back from him.'"

"I asked him how we were to do this; he told me to use force or threats. I offered to do so if he could return the gold. That he said we could consider later. I will not trouble you, sister, with all about how I frightened the man into giving up those letters and burn them—it is a long story. That very night I came to Sandip and said 'We are now safe. Let me have the sovereigns to return them to-morrow to my sister, the Maharani.' But he cried 'What infa-

tuation is this of yours? Your precious sister's skirt bids fair to hide the whole country from you. Say *Bande Mataram* and exorcise the evil spirit.'

"You know, sister, the power of Sandip's magic. The gold remained with him. And I spent the whole dark night on the bathing steps of the lake, muttering *Bande Mataram*."

"Then when you gave me your jewels to sell, I went again to Sandip. I could see he was angry with me. But he tried not to show it. 'If I still have them hoarded up in any box of mine you may take them,' said he, as he flung me his keys. They were nowhere to be seen. 'Tell me where they are,' I said. 'I will do so,' he replied, 'when I find your infatuation has left you. Not now.'"

"When I found I could not move him, I had to employ other methods. Then I tried to get the sovereigns from him in exchange for my currency notes for Rs. 6000. 'You will have them', he said, and disappeared into his bed room, leaving me waiting outside. There he broke open my trunk and came straight to you with your casket through some other passage. He would not let me bring it, and now he dares call it *his* gift. Whom shall I tell how much he has deprived me? I shall never forgive him."

"But, oh sister, his power over me has been utterly broken. And it is you who have broken it!"

"Brother dear," said I. "If that is so, then my life is justified. But more remains to be done, Amulya. It is not enough that the spell has been destroyed. Its stains must be washed away. Don't delay any longer, go at once and put back the money where you took it from. Can you not do it, dear?"

"With your blessing, everything is possible, sister Rani."

"Remember, it will not be your expiation alone, but mine also. I am a woman; the outside world is closed to me, else I would have gone myself. My hardest punishment is that I must put on you the burden of my sin."

"Don't say that, sister. The path I was treading was not your path. It attracted me because of its dangers and difficulties. Now that your path calls me, let it be a thousand times more difficult and dangerous, the dust of your feet will



help me to win through. Is it then your command that this money be replaced?"

"Not *my* command, brother mine, but a command from above."

"Of that I know nothing. It is enough for me that this command from above comes from your lips. And, sister, I thought I had an invitation here. I must not lose that. You must give me your

*prasad*\* before I go. Then, if I can possibly manage it, I will finish my duty in the evening.

Tears came to my eyes when I tried to smile as I said: "So be it."

\* Food consecrated by the touch of a revered person.

(To be continued).

Translated by  
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

## THE ARTISTIC AWAKENING OF INDIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. HOLLEBECQUE.

**W** I thought that we knew India. Writers, both good and bad, have taken pleasure in portraying the movements of her peoples, as they crowd

the high-roads of pilgrimages, gather together round temples of bloody rites, or seek along the Ganges for the road that leads to heaven—the third world. An India sumptuous and sordid by turns, animated and passive, and always baffling to the eye of the European.

And here today India comes to us, no



Fig. 8.—YOUNG GIRL DOING HER HAIR.  
By Abanindranath Tagore.



Fig. 9.—THE LAST JOURNEY OF YUDHISHTIRA.  
By Nandalal Bose.





Fig. 2. — KRISHNA AND RADHA.

By Abanindranath Tagore.

longer transfigured by the imagination of travellers but translated directly by her own artists. She is no longer the tawdry East with her bazars, her dancing girls and her acrobatic ascetics, who impressed

Jules Bois and Andre Chevrillon among so many others. The fierce light, the agitations out of all proportion, and the ready sensuality—the only treasures that hasty tourists carry away—are absent from





Fig. 4.—THE SWING.  
By Abanindranath Tagore.

the well regulated, charming and serious work of Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples.<sup>1</sup> As the result of a life devoted

1. The late G. Gangendranath Tagore, his brother; Nandulal Bose, Nandulchandra De, Sailendra De,

almost entirely to meditation, these artists have brought clearly before us a vision of a harmonious civilization, rallied sadly round ancient cults and legends.

The word "Renaissance" has been used to describe this awakening of a people thought to be for ever doomed to sterility. It is correct, if to undergo a renaissance is to create again after a period of rest and seeming death. It is, however, incorrect if it is used in the sense in which it is applied to the great artistic renewal of the 16th century. The India of today does not present to us a nation that has exhausted its ideal and denied it, and that produces once more from its still living forces a conception of the universe and things in general that humanity has not yet known. The Calcutta School neither innovates nor destroys. No more does it seek to draw India towards a complete rejuvenation of thought. It is under the sway of age-long traditions, and there is no rupture between it and the past. There is simply a resumption of continuity,—the chain, broken for one instant, is joined again.

For India, in spite of her political vicissitudes has preserved the privilege of maintaining, in the very midst of conquest, the

Satyendranath Dutt, O. C. Ganguly, S. N. Ganguly, A. K. Haldar, S. N. Kar, A. K. Mitter, K. N. Mazumdar, Iswari Prasad, Rameswhar Prasad, Sami-uz-Zama, D. C. Singha, Ukil, K. Venkatappa.





Fig. 1.—THE LOVE LETTER.  
By Abanindranath Tagore.



Fig. 10.—DANCE OF DESTRUCTION. By K. Majumdar.

unity of thought and a faith that has slowly moulded her through the centuries. Nothing has severed those powerful links that served of old to unite her people—the philosophical doctrines of Buddha, and the Brahminic religion.

After so many centuries, Abanindranath Tagore and his pupils follow the principle of the idealism that has created the Hindu religions and can be briefly stated thus :

*Behind the world of appearances and illusion that Maya presents to men to lead them astray, resides the principles of permanence—the One to whom the soul attains at the end of her transmigrations.* Hence the aim of art is not the expression of the real, but the search for the secret truth it hides and of which it is one of the most imperfect forms.

And for this reason, scenes of daily life, realistic portraits, the surging of the crowds round the market places, streets in Benares—and all that to which the European painters have accustomed us,—are absent from the work of Tagore and his disciples.<sup>2</sup> They copy nature and

2. Certain exceptions, however, must be noted. Bose and the brothers Tagore have painted a few



at the same time make her bend before the exigencies of the idealism that demands a preliminary choice and then an interpretation. That is to say they recreate nature

from a vision of the mind. For them everyday life does not contain enough nobility, nor a teaching sufficiently permanent, to be immortalized by art. The lives of the



Fig. 5.—INFANT RAMA IN THE ARMS OF HIS MOTHER.  
By Nandalal Bose.

scenes of Hindu life, but of these some have to do with religious ceremonies: The Kajari Dance, to bring rain (fig. 7); "The Initiation to the Evening Arati" (ceremony of the swinging of lamps); and the others serve to express symbols: The Broken String; The End of the Voyage; The Young Girl With the Lotus; Life and Death; "The Two Drunkards" by Bose and "The Clerks Leaving Office in the Rain" by Abanindranath Tagore are the only ones that have an appearance of realism. And again this last sketch treated in the Japanese manner is more a clever adaptation than an original work.



Fig. 12.—THE PORTRAIT.  
By Abanindranath Tagore.

gods, the mystic adoration and the unchanging symbols alone are sources of inspiration worthy of the artist. But these do not appear in their full meaning until they are stripped of the fierce light that surrounds them, and of all fleshly splendours. They need those shaded half-tones and those delicate harmonies that prepare the soul for meditation, and penetrate into the intimacy of the inner life.

The evolution of A. Tagore is significant





Fig. 6.—RAMA LYING BEFORE THE SEA.  
By Nandalal Bose.

in this respect. Moulded first by English masters, he yielded to the pleasure of the pursuit of light coloring<sup>2</sup>—then as he drew away from European influences to imbue himself with the principles of ancient Hindu art he subdued and darkened his coloring to such a degree, that his last

3. A. Tagore first studied painting at the Art School in Calcutta, founded by the British Government about 1850. The teachers, convinced that there was no Hindu art, made the pupils work from bad plaster copies and books of English designs. About 1906, Mr. Havell, the learned author of "Indian Sculpture and Painting," bought some ancient miniatures which replaced those pitiful models and encouraged Tagore in his attempt at self-liberation.

picture is simply a gradation of shades deepening from a pale grey to a violet grey ;—only the blood-red light of the setting sun shines out,—reduced to a line in the clouds.

Leaving aside any analysis for a moment, it is certainly by the unity of the colouring that the common character of



Fig. 11.—THE PURNING OF THE HOUSE OF LAC  
By Nandalal Bose.

the artists of the Calcutta school asserts itself. Not one of them has cared to represent that India full of light which imposes herself upon the superficial eye, but they show us an India full of shades, contemplative and grave, as it is expressed in the philosophy that has reached its limit. In fact their representation of the outer world is a synthesis of their spiritual thought.

This choice of a subdued coloring has, however, other causes besides the will of the artist. Abanindra Tagore and his pupils have looked too long on the pale engravings in the Studio and have been



FIG. 13.—THE END OF THE JOURNEY.  
By Abanindranath Tagore.



too directly influenced by masters imbued with the principles of pre-raphaelite art. No doubt, they have regained possession of themselves. When Tagore gave up the stool, the easel and the palette with its heavy oils, to paint in water colours, crouching at the foot of the vase where

the champa flowers bloom<sup>4</sup>, he bound himself to the traditions of his race,—to those of the Indo-Persian and Mogul art, which for three centuries had furnished

4. It is thus that Malle. A. Karpeles has represented him in a fine study exhibited at the Salon of orientalist painters.



the rarest masterpieces,—and those of the ancient art of India (when the painted caves of Ajanta and Cigiria were discovered). Each of these tendencies can be seen to predominate in turn in the work of Tagore, and that of his disciples.<sup>5</sup> He painted charming figures of women after the Indo-persian style: "A young girl doing her hair" and who stops suddenly—a long lock between her fingers—to follow her dream [fig. 8] a young woman seated at the edge of the terrace, absorbed in the contemplation of the "Message of Love" graven on the lotus flower. [fig. 1] Historical pictures: "The Emperor Aurangzeb looking at the head of his brother Dara," whom he has just caused to be killed by treachery. Placed on a tray, and wrapped in a red turban, this cut-off head recalls the *Saint John the Baptist's* of the Italian renaissance; "The Dream of the Emperor Shah Jahan" who saw one evening, rising on the horizon, the exquisite mausoleum where the body of his beloved wife Tajmahal was to rest<sup>6</sup>; and finally an "Illustration for a quatrain of Omar Khayam." Kneeling on the prow of his bark the Sufi watches the water of the river as it flows on, symbolising the course of the lives of the sages, and he composes this meditative verse:

The ball no question makes of ayes or nos,  
But here or there, as strikes the player goes.  
But He that cast us down into the field,  
He knows about it all, he knows, he knows!

Pictures of Hindu inspiration, which portray episodes from the divine legends, are more numerous. Tagore has devoted pictures full of grace, and bright in tone, to the life of Krishna. He has not, certainly, seen in him the supreme god of the Bhagavat-Gita—the source and end of all things—but only the charming shepherd of the Gita Govinda, who dances in the fields, plays on his flute to charm nature, and frolics and swings with the shepherdesses whom he intoxicates with his presence. [fig. 4] The mystic thought that animates the whole story of Krishna—the milkmaids who are in love with him symbolizing the

union of the soul with the Divine—is absent from the work of Tagore. It is hardly to be traced in a picture with darker colours where he has shown us Radha seeking her lover in the forest.<sup>7</sup> Anxious, and as if already troubled by the divine presence, she does not see the God, who hides behind a big tree, embracing its dark trunk. In the shadow, the light of his forehead, crowned with an aureole, his blue arms and his glittering robe can be distinguished. It is the image of the God who hides himself from Souls after having possessed them and exacts from them a loving quest.

In the Portrait [fig. 12] A. Tagore has painted with a perfect distinction and charm the trouble that takes possession of the heart of young girls at the sight of the divine youth. He makes them sigh forth the despairing words of the Bengali poet—their gaze laden with desire and melancholy—

"I was happy in my house  
Until the day I saw his picture."

Shiva has inspired Abanindranath Tagore more than his pupils. K. N. Mazumdar has painted a "Dance of Destruction" [fig. 10] with taste, but he does not give the god the ardent fire and the intoxicating passion of the dance, that the ancient sculptors were able to render with such striking realism. Tagore has placed Shiva and Parvati among the groves at night-fall—face to face with arms entwined—in the act of the divine identification<sup>8</sup>. And whilst they gaze upon each other, the god provokes his wife—"Oh! daughter of Himalaya, I am white as the moon, and thou art dark as the cloud that passes before her—I am the sandal wood tree and thou the serpent that twines around it".<sup>9</sup> But however charming these pictures may be, they do not equal in beauty a fresco representing the divine couple,

7. The picture of Radha that Tagore composed after a Bengali poem has the same inspiration:

"She was passing by in the light of evening.  
I did not know who she was  
But the sight of her made glad my eyes."

8. It is well known that the god who contains in himself both the male and the female elements, capable of assuring him totality of action over the universe can project outside of himself active energy and incarnate it in a goddess "Shakti."

9. The legend relates that Parvati, humiliated by these reproaches fled into the woods and by means of penitences obtained a complexion as bright as the sunny sky.

5. There are even some Mahomedans among his pupils. Sami-ur-Zama who has painted with grace episodes from the life of Nur-Jehan; Iswari Prosad who has illustrated in the style of Persian miniatures the poem of Saade,—Leila and Majnun.

6. This monument built at Agra in the 17th century, and known by the name of Taj Mahal is one of the most perfect of the Islam-Mughul art.



that has been copied from the caves of Ajanta<sup>10</sup> by Nanda Lall Bose. Adorned with his rich coronet, the cord of the ascetic round his arm, and the emblematic *chakra* in his right hand, Shiva clasps his beautiful wife, who is crowned with her diadem in the form of a crescent moon and a lotus flower. Entranced and as if possessed by the god, Parvati leans, more supple than a creeper, towards her spouse. Cheek against cheek, grave and meditative, with their beautiful bodies vying in elegance, they make the most disturbing picture that art has presented, of the human couple troubled by the double mystery of the spiritual and the fleshly union.

The Buddhist legends have not been a happy source of inspiration to the artists of the Calcutta School. O. Gangooly, modernising to excess his "Buddha preaching" has given him a Roman profile, and Gogonendra Nath Tagore has conceived the Nirvana under the appearance of a puerile symbol of a bluish ocean from which a head emerges. Happier in his illustrations of the life of Chaitanya the mystic reformer<sup>11</sup> he has drawn grave and noble pictures of him and in spite of the clumsiness in the drawing, he has succeeded in communicating his emotion, in "grief on the threshold of the unknown".

Nanda Lall Bose, the most gifted of Tagore's pupils, has illustrated the principal episodes of the Hindu epics, the *Ramayan* and the *Mahabharat*. The engravings that represent the struggles of the Kurus and the Pandavas, and that were drawn some years ago, bear traces of English influence in their coldness and banality.<sup>12</sup> "The burning of the house of lac" (fig. 11), however, shews a very sure sense of composition, and there is some nobility in the "Last voyage of Judisthira" (fig. 9). The history of Rama is drawn according to quite different ideas

of technique. Freed from imitation of European art, Bose has attached himself to the old Hindu traditions—those of Ajanta—which the painters of the people cherish in their bazaar pictures and which women follow by instinct when painting the figures of gods on the inner doors of their houses. Here there is none of the Persian affectation, but strength, movement, warm colouring, and realism. Dressed in bright red, the subjects are shown in relief on a background of indigo blue. The "Mother of Rama" bearing in her arms the hero as a child (fig. 5) is a Hindu woman in all her fullness, such as the Mahabharat describes to us under the form of Shakuntala. "She has passed this way, my sweet love, the track of her feet made deeper by the weight of her hips is imprinted in the ground."—And "Rama lying down on the sea shore" is one of the noblest pictures by which painting has added to poetry.

Tagore has only once turned from religious and symbolic subjects to attempt caricature. There also, however, he was guided by a desire to work for the education of his people. The personages that his ironical fancy has reproduced in the forms of "The Amorous Prince" (fig. 3), "The Great Goddess," "The Captive Hero"—are actors who are to represent before an enthusiastic public the heroes and gods of ancient poems—true clowns who deck themselves with paper flowers and motley tinsel in the setting of an English music-hall.

Such is the work of the Calcutta painters—a work of charm, distinction and thought. It comes to prove to Europe, to whom it presents itself for the first time, what collective effort united round a common inspiration, can do. These sincere and gifted artists have subdued their own private temperaments to the necessity for reviving the technique and the ideal peculiar to India. If to this they have sacrificed richness of colouring and freedom of form, they have at least affirmed their will to live and the precision of their aim.

In order to produce great works, this little group must free themselves from foreign influences and try to translate more than episodes of the legends from Hindu thought. Grace and serenity have suppressed in them the gifts of force, movement and passion, that belonged to the ancient sculptors. They do not bring

10. The underground temples of Ajanta (situated to the west of Central India) were built between the second century of the ancient era and the 6th century of the modern era. The walls are adorned with paintings whose perfection has never been surpassed in India.

11. From 1485 to 1527 Chaitanya whose life is full of miraculous deeds became the apostle of divine love. Standing on the roofs of the town he used to cry to the excited crowd—Krishna, Krishna, love, love—and then fall ravished in an ecstasy.

12. They served to illustrate the book of Sister Nivedita and Ananda Coomaraswami "Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists." A Tagore and Venkatappa also helped to illustrate this book.



before us India with her essential symbols. A country of wonderful dreams, in ancient days she incarnated in her multiform gods all the forces of nature. They have a thousand arms with which to create and a thousand faces that they may enjoy with all the senses. Conflicting elements mingle in them, life and death, sensation and thought, enjoyment and asceticism. At the height of madness and confusion they tend towards a state of equilibrium and from the frenzy of the instincts they produce intellectual order. We shall see one day this diverse and abundant thought spring up in the works of the Calcutta school, unless India, having already advanced beyond the stage of intuitive thought and turning towards the world of experience—India, suddenly grown young again—reveals to us the forms of an art till now unknown.

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Our sole duty today is to look upon the artistic awakening of India with sympathy. We use this word in all its force, sympathy implying an idea of knowledge. We must come prepared before these pictures and restore them to their civilization without trying to imitate them. Thus we shall not fall again into the mistake, that, for three years, for the pleasure of a dress maker, imposed upon us the Persian style and made of it a trumpery affair, taking away its true meaning and depriving it of its inner life.

Hindu art ought to be for us something other than a mental pastime. Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples are worthy of any effort we can make to understand them and to reach through them the precious civilization of India.

*Translated by*  
PRAMILA CHAUDHURY.

## BENGALI IN INDO-ROMANIC SMALL LETTERS.

**I**N the *Modern Review* for July 1918 a writer who signs himself *A Madrasee* writes to say that he has read "with great interest" my two recent articles in the *Review*, and further writes as follows:—"From the point of view of a non-Bengali Indian, I believe that the adoption of Roman script for Bengali will be of great benefit to the country. It would immensely facilitate the learning of the Bengali language and literature by non-Bengalis, the chief obstacle in their ways at present being the script.....To provide every facility for learning Bengali and popularise its literature is a great necessity for us Indians. As a step in this direction, therefore, I urge that the Bengalis should come to a conclusion immediately about the adoption of the Indo-Romanic script for their language."

The Rev. J. Knowles has also written to me from Cambridge, under date May 29th 1918, saying that he "should like to enlist you [me] in an effort to arouse attention to the great need of some reform in Indian characters."

Hindustani was romanised long ago on the basis of transliteration. It appears to me desirable that Bengali should now

be brought out in small Indo-Romanic character, without waiting for European savants and phoneticians coming to an agreement about the application of the Roman alphabet to the writing of all languages—an agreement which shows yet no signs of coming, the *amour propre* of individual scholars and learned societies standing as a great obstacle in the way. A move in Bengal in the matter may be a spur to the other linguistic areas in India and even to Europe itself. So I now take upon myself the task of offering suggestions for the phonetic transcription of Bengali in Indo-Romanic character, which in effect would be transliteration on the basis of the real powers of the Bengali letters and not transliteration on the basis of the powers of the corresponding Devanagari letters as used in writing Sanskrit.

At the outset I have to say that the system that has with a few variations, been long in use in India for transliteration into Roman character, and has recently been employed in writing certain previously unwritten Indian languages—Santali, Khasi, Lushai and Garo—is the best fitted for the phonetic romanization of all Indian writing, as being the system



The great British Orientalist Sir George Grierson's opinion of the Rev. J. Knowles's scheme, as expressed in a letter written to me after he had read "with great interest" as he said, my *Modern Review* article on the scheme, is as follows: "As for Mr. Knowles's scheme, I think that if we were all starting a scheme of transliteration *de novo*, his system would demand serious consideration. But at present another system holds the field and is universally employed by European scholars. Being established, good or bad, it would be very difficult to oust it, just as it would be difficult to oust any other alphabetical system widely accepted." Sir George

The Royal Asiatic Society's system of transliteration of the Devanagari and allied alphabets is this:—

No equivalent is given for the Hindi वृ

(1) It has new characters on the model of ए and ओ for e (short) and o (short), respectively.



(2) It retains for the symbols ' : x  $\times$  their historical place between the vowels and the regular consonants ক খ গ ঘ ঙ, etc., and does not transfer them to a place after these consonants.

(3) It has the symbol  $\sim$  put over vowels to indicate their nasalization, instead of  $\sim$  after vowels for the same purpose.

(4) It has n with a loop attached below instead of ñ, for ণ.

(5) It has g, instead of s, for গ.

(6) It has l, instead of 1, for ল.

(7) It has r for র.

The Linguistic Survey system differs from the Royal Asiatic Society's on the following points:—

(1) It has certain additional vowels, ā for the sound of a in *all*, ă for the sound of a in *hat*, ĕ for the sound of e in *met*, ō for the sound of o in *hot*; and it has also ts for the Marathi ढ (which seems to be the same as the East Bengal ढ), ch instead of c for च, sh instead of s for श, ng for the Bengali ঙ which has the sound of ঙ.

The Bengal Government system differs from the Royal Asiatic Society's in having ñ instead of m, for ং (*anusvara*); in having no symbol for ʾ (*anunāsika*); and in having n instead of ñ for ণ.

As regards the transliteration of Arabic characters with additional characters for Hindustani, I need here only say that h used for: and s used for শ cannot properly be used for two Arabic letters whose sounds are quite different from those of: and শ. In the Royal Asiatic Society's Transliteration announcement in the Society's Journal for 1896, it is indeed said of the two tables of transliteration, (1) of Sanskrit, Pali and the allied alphabets, and (2) of Arabic and allied alphabets, that "these two tables are inconsistent with one another on several points." It is further said that "the practical difficulties arising from this discrepancy are, however, so small that the council would merely point out the discrepancy." But the discrepancy is certainly not irremovable. I have further to say that Arabic letters having Arabic sounds should be transliterated differently from the same letters used in Hindustani but bearing, after Persian, sounds different from their Arabic sounds. The Arabic letter called se in Persian and Hindustani

and the letters sin and sād have all the sound of s in Hindustani, and the letters called zāl, ze, zād and zoe\* in Persian and Hindustani have all the sound of z. In this case s may very properly be used to represent the first three letters, and z the second four for Hindustani.

All the four systems of transliteration under comment, in dealing with the Devanagari and allied alphabets follow the present incorrect Indian practice of making ऋ with its modern sound of u in *hut* the short of अ, of which the universally recognised sound is the sound of a in *further*. A rectification is needed here. ऋ requires to be represented otherwise than by a, which should stand for the short of ā (आ). The italicised form of a, changed from slant to vertical, may well serve the purpose, it seems. It would not be a newly invented character. In this paper I shall use a for ऋ and अ (short) as a tentative measure. The sound of o in *hot*, of a in *all*, and of a in *hat*, all of which exist in Bengali, require also to be properly represented. Sir George Grierson's representation in the *Linguistic Survey*, of the sound of o in *hot* by ō, of the sound of a in *all* by ā and of the sound of a in *hat* by ă is faulty. One and the same sound is often indicated by ā, â and á. The sound of o in *hot* is but the short of a in *all*. Two different characters for two quantitative variations of the same sound cannot be proper. As for the sound of a in *hat*, no shortening of the Latin a-sound or of the English a-sound in *hate* either, can give the English sound of a in *hat*. Sir George Grierson seems to have here sought immediate convenience with reference to English readers. The Bengali sound of अ in आज (to-day), the first e-sound in মেয়ে (floor), and the o-sound in কৌনে (bride) require to be represented. A dot under each of the letters ā, e, and o may serve the purpose. The Bengali a-sound which corresponds with the English a-sound in *hat* may be represented by e (e underlined), the sound being allied to the Latin e-sound.

The question of ঋ and ৠ I discussed at some length in my last April Article. Discarding ৠ as being practically useless, I shall only say about ঋ that considering the Upper India pronunciation, kīrt, of क

\* The want of Arabic types in the Press obliges me to give the names of the letters, instead of the letters themselves.



in the phrase *गुणवर्द्धन राचाय*, the turning of *ग* into *mirga* and of *व* into *hirdā* in Hindi, and the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* sounds of *ग* as given by Sanskrit grammarians being *ar* and *ār*, respectively, it is hard to resist the conclusion that a very short vowel sound precedes the *r*-sound in *ग* and does not follow it. The transliterations *ri ri*, which originated in Bengal, where traditionally the Bengali letters corresponding to *ग* have been sounded as downright *ri* and *ri*, is obviously incorrect. The rejection, by the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal of the *i* and *ī* from the current transliterations appear to be quite proper. But the two Societies' *r* and *ṛ* are objectionable as lacking any indication of the very short vowel sound preceding the *r*-sound in *ग* and *गृ*. This very short vowel sound may be taken to be the indeterminate vowel, and be represented by the apostrophe reversed, as the apostrophe is used for the Devanagari *avaṅgata*. The *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* forms *गर* and *गार* show that the preceding short vowel sound was not distinctly *i*, as in the modern sound of *ऊ* in Upper India, and that the *r*-sound was not different from that of *र*. I would, therefore suggest that *ग* be represented by 'r and *गृ* by 'rr, the *r*-sound in the latter case being doubled.

The Bengal Asiatic Society's and the Linguistic Survey's mode of representing the *anunasika* sound by means of the symbol *~* placed over a vowel is decidedly preferable to the Royal Asiatic Society's representation of the sound by *m̐* after a vowel, for *~* over a vowel plainly indicates that it nasalizes the vowel, while *m̐* after a vowel suggests the idea that the vowel is followed by a nasal sound, as does the *n* in the French word *mon*. But the employment of *~* for indicating the nasalization of a vowel should be a bar to its being also put over *n* for representing the sound of the Devanagari *अं*. A good representation of *अं* would be, it seems, *n̐* with two dots under it, for the sound of *अं* is only very slightly different from that of *अ*, which, according to all the four methods of transliteration, is represented by *n̐*. The Bengal Government system's representation of *अं* (the *anuvāra*) by *ñ*, and of *अ* by *n̐* (*n* underlined), which is different from that of the other three systems,

appears to have no justification in its favour.

The *अ* of the Devanagari alphabet is represented by *ā* by the Royal Asiatic Society, by the Linguistic Survey System and by the Government of Bengal System. But the Asiatic Society of Bengal represents the *अ* sound by *n* with a loop attached to it below. The universal adoption of this method would be an improvement, for dotting or otherwise marking vowels above and consonants below would be a good general device.

For *अ*, both the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Asiatic Society have *c*. The Linguistic Survey and the Bengal Government systems have, obviously for practical convenience, the popular English *ch* for it. This is of course an unscientific procedure, for whatever sound may be assigned to *c*, no combination of that sound with the *h*-sound can produce the *अ*-sound. A universal adoption of *c* for *अ* is desirable. As bearing the *k*-sound, the *s*-sound and in a few cases in English even the *sh*-sound, *c* is a superfluity in the Roman alphabet. The *अ*-sound which *c* has partially in Italian gives *c* a serviceable function.

*अ* is represented by *ñ* by the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Linguistic Survey system, while the Government of Bengal system has *n̐* (*n* underlined) for *अ*. It has already been pointed out that the use of the symbol *~* for indicating the nasalization of a vowel and at the same time the putting it over *n* for expressing the sound of *अ* is bad.

For *अ* the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Government system have *v* only, but the Linguistic Survey system has *v* and *w*. The Latin sound of *v* being like that of *व*, a dual representation of *अ* is unnecessary.

For *अ* the Royal Asiatic Society, the Linguistic Survey system and the Bengal Government system have *s*, but the Bengal Asiatic Society has *g*, which, by the way, stands in the Bengal Government system for the Arabic letter called *sād* in Persian and Hindustani. An accent mark over *s* does not appear to be a very appropriate mark for differentiating the sound of *अ* from that of *स*, while *अ*, of which the sound is closely like that of *स*, is represented by *g*. It would be preferable for *अ* to be represented by *g*, and for *अ* by *g̐* (*g* with two dots below). In French *g* has a sound almost, if not exactly, the same as that of *s*. To



make g represent the ɣ-sound, which corresponds to the English sh-sound, is no justifiable procedure, for it amounts to making the same character bear different sounds in different languages. The sh for ɣ in the Linguistic Survey system and the Bengal Government system is unscientific though practically convenient for English-speaking people. For ɣ the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bengal Asiatic Society have ʃ. But they both have ʒ also for the Arabic letter called sād in Persian and Hindustani. This is most objectionable, for the sounds of ɣ and the Arabic letter sād are wide apart. The fact is that learned societies that have devised systems of transliteration have had a narrow outlook before them, and so have represented by the same character a particular sound of a particular language and also a clearly different sound of some other language, repeating thus the vice that prevails in Europe of using the same Roman character for expressing different sounds in different languages.

The ɣ sound is romanized by the Bengal Asiatic Society and the Linguistic Survey system as r, and by the Bengal Government system as ʒ. This ʒ is preferable to r, for the r-sound in ɣ has to be distinguished from the ɣ-sound. In ɣṣi transliterated as rṣi or ʒṣi, the r-sound is not the same as the sound of ɣ in ɣṣī, which borders on that of ʒ. Rṣi or ʒṣi for ɣṣi and ghaɾi for ɣṣī can cause only intolerable confusion. The Bengal Asiatic Society's r for both ɣ and ɣ, the sounds of which are wide apart, is a huge anomaly.

For practical convenience it is desirable that in ordinary writing and printing, the marking of the quantity of vowels should be avoided; but that in books for elementary instruction in a language and in dictionaries, Dr. Sweet's three distinctions of long, half-long or medium and short should be marked, as needed. Bengali requires the half-long or medium mark. In the following scheme for the writing and printing of Bengali phonetically in Indo-Romanic small letters no distinction of long and short is made in the vowel characters, as the long and short vowel of Bengali writing have no correspondence with sound.

Bengali requires the following Indo-

Romanic small letters\* for being phonetically written:

I. Vowels.—(1) a for ʌ, for the conventional very short a-sound caused by ʌ in words like বাবান, and for ʌ in words like দেশীয় and পূজনীয়; ʌ for ʌ, and for ʌ in words like যাত্রা and বাঁহা; ʌ with a dot below for ʌ in আজ (to-day) and কাল (tomorrow); i for ই and their abbreviated forms [ɪ]; u for উ and their abbreviated forms [ʊ]; e for ɛ with normal sound and for ɛ in words like রাই and বাই; e with a dot below for the first e in মেঝে (floor); e with two dots below or e underlined for ɛ in এক and for ɛ in নাড়া; o for ও with normal sound; o with a dot below for ɔ in কোনে (bride) as distinguished from ɔ in কোণে (in corner); ' for the indeterminate vowel required for the transliteration of the Devanagari ॠ as 'r.

Vowels nasalized—(2) ă, ã, ĩ, ũ, ɛ̃, ɔ̃, etc.

Vowels aspirated—(3) aʰ, ɛʰ, iʰ, uʰ, ɛʰ, ɔʰ.

II. Consonants.—k for ক; g for গ; n with a loop below for ঙ and for ঙ in বন্ধন, বাঙালী, গঙ্গা, not for ঙ in কোড়ার (kōār) or গোড়ার (gōār); c for চ; ɟ for ɟ in পাঁচ টাকা and for the East Bengal sound of ɟ generally; j for জ; z for the z-sound that জ has in certain Bengali dialects, and even in Calcutta Bengali in মেজ-দা (mez-dā) from মেজ-দাদা (mejo-dādā); ŋ for ঞ in চকল and কুঞ্জ, not for ঞ in মিক্স (mīks) or গাক্স (gāks now gāi); ʈ for ট; ʈ for ড; ɖ, better ɖ, for ʈ; ɳ for ণ in কণ্ঠ and পণ্ডিত, not for ণ in কারণ, which has the same sound as ন; t for ত; d for দ; n for ন; p for প; b for ব; m for ম with normal sound; r for র; l for ল; v (only for transliteration from other languages) for the second ৱ which in theory represents ৱ; ʃ for শ, ʒ for ষ, ʒ—except where শ is combined with ৱ following, and where ষ is combined

\* All useful purposes served by Roman capital letters may be well served by increase of size of small letters, as seen in C and S compared with c and s.

† ক গ, etc. are to be taken as ক, গ, etc., which cannot be sounded by themselves. The letters ক, গ, etc., may in the Indian way be named ka, ga, etc. It appears to me better to name them kak, gag, etc., in order that their sounds both at the beginning and the end of a word or syllable may be exhibited.



with ঞ, ঞ, or ঞ following, as in the words ঞ and ঞ and the words ঞ, ঞ and ঞ, in which two cases ঞ has to stand for ঞ and ঞ, h for ঞ.

Kh, gh, ch, etc., can perform the functions they now perform in the current methods of transliteration.

As Bengali is not a phonetically written language, as Hindi almost entirely is, remarks on the sounds of some of the Bengali letters, simple and compound, appear to be called for, in order that the path to phonetic romanisation may be smoothed. The vowels have necessarily to be dealt with before the consonants.

The letter ঞ, express and inherent, is both short and long, but hardly ever so short as the Hindi ঞ; and it is but rarely as long as the English *a* in *call*. The short ঞ has a tendency to take up the sound of *o* short. ঞ is *oti* and গতি is *goti* in Calcutta Bengali, and so is কাল (*black*) *kalo*, and ভাল (*good*) *bhalo*. On learning from Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterjee that ঞ and ঞ are pronounced as *man* and *mann* in East Bengal, I inquired of an East Bengal kinsman of mine whether the *a*-sound was adhered to universally in his part of the country (Bikrampur, Dist. Dacca), and he said in reply that the adherence was general, though not quite universal, and instanced, as an exception, ঞ in “একমন হু” pronounced as *mon*. *Bhāla* and *kala* he gave as the sounds of ভাল and কাল. Two Bikrampur Pandits who visited me later, gave *dokkhin*, and not *dakkhin*, as the sound of দক্ষিণ in their part of the country. This then is another exception to the general practice of adhering to the *a*-sound of ঞ. ঞ being a transcript of the Sanskrit ঞ and গতি of গতি, no one can venture to interfere with their spelling. But some writers now write কাল for *black* and ভাল for *good*. This innovation does not appear to me to be a desirable one, because it is not extended to all cases of ঞ (express or inherent) having the *o*-sound. কতি, for instance, not being written কতি, and also because the East Bengal sounds of কাল and ভাল are *kāla* and *bhāla*, respectively.

So strong is the tendency in Bengali to turn the *a*-sound of words into *o* that

words drawn from foreign languages are subjected to this transformation. The Arabic word *sadr*, turned to *sadar* in Hindustani, is written in Bengali as সদর (*sadar*), but is pronounced as *śador*; and the English word *summons*, written in Bengali as সমন (*saman*) is pronounced as *šamon*. Not only ঞ, but also ঞ tends in Bengali to take up the *o*-sound. The word পূজা and উদ্বাহরণ turn the sound of their *i* into *o*, in colloquial Bengali.

The distinction between ই ি (theoretically the short *i*) and ঞ ি (theoretically the long *i*), and that between উ ি (theoretically the short *u*) and উ ি (theoretically the long *u*) are in reality distinctions for the eye only and not for the ear, and are in reality confined for the most part to words drawn or derived from Sanskrit. Wherever in Sanskrit words there is a long *i* or *u*, it is bound to be reproduced when the words themselves or their derivatives are used in Bengali, though the sounds may not be long in Bengali. ঞ (pronounced *issar*), নদীয়া (pronounced *nodiā*), মূল্য (pronounced *mullo*) and উনিশ (pronounced *uniś*) are examples of this. On the other hand Bengali words, in which the vowel sound is *i* or *u*, are written with the short *i* or *u*. তিন is the same in sound as the Hindi तीन; ঞ the same in sound as the Hindi ञ; दूध the same in sound as the Hindi दूध; and हून the same in sound as the Hindi हून. The Persian words *khūb* and *khūn* have been naturalised in Bengali; but, though they have in Bengali as spoken the *ū* sound, in writing they appear as খুব (*khub*) and খুন (*khun*). For *Home Rule* we have now both হোম রুল and হোম রুল. At present in Bengali there is a tendency to write the ি (*i* short) in all cases where there is not the stamp of the Sanskrit ি (*i* long), and also the ি (*u* short) similarly. ইংরাজী, ইংরেজী and হিন্দী have not indeed been driven out of the field yet by ইংরাজি, ইংরেজি and হিন্দি, but the latter have been pushing their way in print. By the way, the current word ইন্ড্রিজী has not yet obtained a footing in the written language.



No one can venture to write দেশি instead of দেশী, but side by side with দেশী there are to be seen in notice-boards in front of cloth dealers' shops in Calcutta বিলাতি instead of the venerable বিলাতী. As to the real character of the final *i*-sound in দেশী and বিলাতী, no one can contend that it is long in দেশী and short in বিলাতী. It is not easy to understand how the time-honoured হিন্দী has come to be dressed out as हिन्दि. By writing हिन्दि instead of हिन्दी, and following a similar procedure in other cases in which the Hindi language has a final long *i*-sound, we can only create an unreasonable petty barrier between ourselves and our Hindi-using countrymen of Upper India, and put also a small difficulty in the way of Bengalis learning Hindi and of Hindustanis learning Bengali.

The Bengali ই has by no means the same short sound as the Hindi इ has. In Hindi दिन has the *i*-sound as short as the *i* in the English word *din*. It is otherwise with the Bengali word দিন. The *i*-sound in দিন is really half-long or medium, according to Dr. Sweet's nomenclature. In fact the short *i*-sound and the short *u*-sound which are very common in Hindi and English are almost non-existent in Bengali. फिन-फिन, फूट-फूट, and a few other words can only be mentioned as instances of the decidedly short *i*- and *u*-sounds in Bengali.

On scientific grounds it is desirable that the quantity of the vowel sounds in Bengali should be settled according to sound as determined by a phonometric instrument—to the disregard of Sanskrit or any other spelling. But a thorough-going change like this would not be practicable in the present state of public opinion in the country. A departure from Sanskrit spelling cannot be ventured upon. But in the case of non-Sanskrit words, sound can be conformed to in all cases. Sound is now followed by some Bengali writers in respect of the word কি. তুমি কি জান? is used for *Do you know?* তুমি কী জান? is used for *What do you know?*

The sound of ঞ in Bengali is exactly

that of ঞি, and so to be transliterated by *ri*. It has no pretension whatever to be considered a vowel.

The Bengali ঞ is the same in sound as ঙ, and so can count only as a pure consonant, with no inherent অ.

The Devanagari *anusvāra* appears to have been at first a vowel-nasalizing symbol, as ̣ now distinctively is, and then to have undergone changes of sound till it came in Bengali to have the decidedly consonantal sound of ঙ, i. e., of ङ or the English *n* in *bank*. The Bengali so-called *anusar* (*anusvāra*) ঞ is now on the way to supplant ঙ in a large measure in writing, for not only is it used in writing words of non-Sanskrit origin, such as ইংরেজ and হংকং, but in writing also words of Sanskrit origin, as ঞ instead of রঙ (from रङ्ग) and বাংলা instead of বাঙলা (from वङ्ग). By the way, it seems extraordinary that বাঙলা should have a place in writing, but not বাঙলা. Is it because ঙ is supposed to be incapable of being without its inherent অ, any more than ঞ is incapable of being without its inherent অ in the word রানলা? Anyhow there can be no objection to বাঙলা taking the place of বাংলা. Words drawn bodily from Sanskrit, such as সখ্যা and সজ্জপ, do not always appear as such in print, but appear often as সংখ্যা and সংজ্ঞপ. It is desirable, I think, that ঞ should be reserved for use exclusively for the *anusvāra* of words borrowed from Sanskrit, except where the ঞ has come to bear an *m*-sound, as in কিংবা and সংগ্রতি, which would better be written, always and not only sometimes, as কিংবা and সংগ্রতি.

The Bengali ঞ calls for some notice. It has generally not the *visarga* sound. It is only when it is final that it has the *visarga* sound, as in আঃ, ইঃ and উঃ. Occurring in the middle of a word, as in দুঃখ and দুঃখপ, it only doubles the sound of the consonant that follows it. দুঃখ is sounded as dukkha (not duḥkha) and দুঃখপ as duṣṣapna (not duḥṣapna).

The Sanskrit diphthongal sounds *ai* and *au* have become *oi* and *ou* in Bengali, which has, however, numerous other diphthongs, which it manages to express by combinations of two vowels in each case.

The nasal consonants ঙ and ঞ are not



named after their proper sounds as *ā* and *ā* (*ā* here being the palatal *n*). So far as my personal knowledge goes *ū* is named *ū* and *o* is named *o*. Prof. Jogesh-chandra Ray, in his *বাঙ্গালী-কোষ* (Bengali Dictionary) gives *উ* (*ū*) as the name of *ū*, and *ই* (*i*) as the name of *o*. So I take it that the two letters are so named in the part of the country where he learnt his Bengali letters. I know of a case in which a *Pathshala* teacher, deluded by the bad naming of *ū*, taught his pupils to pronounce the word *বে*, in *Vidyasagar's* *বর্ণমালা*, *প্রথম ভাগ*, as *beō*. When one such pupil (my informant) joined an English School he had his pronunciation corrected into *bang* as pronounced in English = *বাং* in Bengali character. *কো* for the sound *kōār*, *গো* for the sound *gōār*, *মি* for the sound *mīā*, and *গা* for the sound *gāi* (now *gāi*) are spellings that have arisen from the misnaming of the letters *ū* and *o*. These two letters and also *ā* should be named after their proper sounds.

The Bengali *ā* used to be called *āno* in the old *Pathshala* days. It is now called in our schools *murdhonno* (*mūrdhanya*) *no*. *Murdhonno* is abraacadabra to the infant learner, and it remains quite a puzzle till the learner is advanced enough to learn the proper sound of *ā*, which corresponds with the Bengali *ā*. In Bengali, *ā* has the sound of *ā* only when it is compounded with *উ*, *ঔ* or *ঊ* following, as in the words *আউ*, *কৌ* and *পুঁজিত*. Elsewhere it has the same sound as *ā*. It is a question whether it would not be expedient, in writing Bengali in Indo-Romanic character, to employ *n* for representing the closely allied sounds of *ā* in *কৌ*, *ā* in *পুঁজিত* and *ā* in *নান*, and to employ *s* for representing the closely allied *ā* and *ā* sounds, though for transliteration from Sanskrit different letters are needed, as there are different letters in that language for the slightly different sounds. In applying the same alphabet to the writing of different languages, it is possible only to express by the same symbol sounds that are closely though not exactly alike. The English *k*-sound in *college* for example, is not exactly the same as the *k*-sound in *কল*; but they have both to be represented by *k*.

The nasal letter *ñ*, when conjoined to another *ñ* following, as in the word *কন্*, retains its proper sound of *m*. In a few cases as in *আন্* and *ভৈন্*, the *ñ* doubles the sound of the consonant to which it is attached and imparts besides a nasal sound to the vowel following this consonant, *আন্* being pronounced as *āttā* and *ভৈন্* as *bhīssō*. In *পদ্* the *ñ* only doubles the sound of *দ*, making the sound of the word *paddo*; and in *লক্কী* the *ñ* has no power, the word being sounded as *lokkhi*, as if it were written *লক্কী*. Teachers in schools now teach boys to pronounce the words *পদ্* and *লক্কী* as *paddā* and *lokkhi*, giving *ñ* the sound of *ñ*.

The letter *ṛ*, except when conjoined in the form of *ṛ*, called *ja-phalā*, to a preceding consonant, has exactly the same sound as *ṛ*. In *মৃত্য* and *পদ্*, *ত্* and *দ* take up, respectively the sound of *tto* and *ddo* and turn the sound of the inherent *a* of the preceding consonant into *o*. *দন্ত* phonetically transcribed is *danto*.<sup>\*</sup> *দন্ত* phonetically transcribed is *donto*. *কার্জ* is sounded as *kārjo* or *kārjo*, and *সজ্জ* is sounded as *sojho*. In the latter case *ṛ* assumes the *j*-sound of *ṛ* and is doubled, and the sound of *ṛ* is shifted from before to after *ṛ* with its *j*-sound doubled. In some cases *ṛ* has a very short *a*-sound, as in *ব্যক্ত* and *ব্যবধান*. *ṛ* with *ṛ* attached to it in the form *ṛṛ* has changed its original sound of *yā* into the sound of *a* in *hat*, which is a simple vowel sound. But this sound of *ṛṛ* does not assert itself in the words written *সামবাজার* and *সামাচার*, but is turned into *ā*. *Sām-bājār* and *Sāmacaron* are the names as sounded.

The dotted *ṛ*, i.e., *ṛ*, is a vowel, and has the sound of *ā* (*a*) in words like *দেবী* and *পূজনীয়*; *ṛ* + *i*, i.e., *ṛi*, has the sound of *āi* (*ā*), as in *বাগ্* and *করিষা*. In words like *অ* and *ই*, *ṛ* is a short (*e*); in *দময়ন্তী* (sounded *da-mae-an-tī*), *ṛ* is a short + *ā*, the *ā* and *ā* being thrown into different syllables; in *দা* (sounded *dae-ā*) *ṛ* is a short + *āi*, the *ā* and *āi* being thrown into different syllables; in *দাময়ন্তী* (sounded *dae-ā-moi-ī*) *ṛ* is

\* In all cases in which I transliterate *ṛ* (express or inherent) by *o*, I follow Calcutta Bengali.



ই+ঐ, the ই+ঐ being thrown into different syllables. ষ is always a consonant; য is always a vowel; জ, when it has a j-sound as in জাণ্য, is a consonant, and elsewhere it performs a consonantal function as in সত্য; ঙ is always a vowel.

A recent use, or rather misuse, of জ claims a notice. The English word *Sir* is usually written in Bengali character as স্যার, for which there is even the high authority of the Sahitya Parishad. Some innovators now write স্যর and others স্যার for *Sir*. Cannot it be short that recourse should be had to জ to express a short অ sound? In turning সরকার into Sircar, Englishmen have taken জ to have a short অ sound; but the vulgar pronunciation of *Sir* given as *Sah* in the Calcutta Statesman of July 27, 1902 under the head of Varieties, I may mention as an instance of জ being also given a short অ-sound by Englishmen. Indeed the Bengali স্যার must have come from *Sir* as pronounced by Englishmen in Bengal. Transliterated into Roman character স্যর would be *syar* and স্যার would be *syār*. These transliterations are a sufficient condemnation of the innovations. The source of the first innovation স্যর seems to be the conventional sound of জ in words like ব্যবধান. Letters with conventional sounds can have no rightful claim to be used in transliteration.

The letter ব, when combined as ব-ফলা with a consonant preceding doubles the sound of the consonant, except when the combination begins a word. বিক্রম is pronounced, not as bi-kram, but as bik-kram, and মিত্র is pronounced, not as mitra, but as mit-tra. Similarly হরপ্রসাদ is pronounced, not as ha-ro-pro-sād, but as ha-rop-prosād. Here there would be a difficulty, as between transliteration and phonetic transcription. The doubling of the consonant in compound words like হরপ্রসাদ, which, after all, may be a local practice in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, may be disregarded, I think.

The second ব of the Bengali alphabet, when used alone has always the sound of the first ব, and is thus a pure superfluity. When used as ব-ফলা, i.e., when conjoined to a consonant preceding, it generally doubles the sound of the consonant, অথ, for instance, being pronounced as aśśo. The ব-ফলা in জর, স্বভাব and দ্বীপ signify nothing. The adoption of the Assamese letter ব (=ব)

would be of service for transliteration, when required, from Sanskrit and other languages, in giving, for instance, the derivation of the Bengali word উকীল from the Arabic word *vakīl*. European linguists who have a scholarly knowledge of Bengali, and even a Bengali linguist of wide celebrity, have credited the Bengali language with the possession of the English w-sound, i.e., of the Sanskrit व-sound. হাওয়া they would transliterate as hāwā, and খাওয়া as khāwā. Their view of the matter is not correct. হাওয়া is not হা-ওয়া, i.e., not hā-oā, which borders on hā-wā, but is হাও-য়া, i.e., hāo-ā; and খাওয়া is not খা-ওয়া, i.e., khā-oā, which borders on khā-wā, but is খাও-য়া, i.e., khāo-ā. খাওয়া has the sound of the imperative verbal form খাও+ the অ sound.

The letters শ, ষ, and স used to be all called śa in the old Pathshala days and were discriminated from one another by names based upon their shapes, the middle one being very aptly called পে-কা-তা (belly-cut) śa. Bengali infants are now taught to call them tālobbo (talavya) śa, mūrdhonno (mūrdhanya) śa, and donto (dantya) śa. The differentiating terms are quite unintelligible to the little learners, and they become intelligible only to those of them who on growing older learn the proper significance of the terms tālavya, mūrdhanya, and dantya. The name *donto śa* (স) is absurdity itself, for the śa sound can never be *dantya* (dental). But the *donto śa* (স) is now the favourite śa in Bengal. The English *sh* sound in words appropriated from foreign languages by Bengali is expressed by means of স instead of শ or ষ. The Persian word *shahr* is generally written শহর (not শহর); so also the Persian name *Sher Shāh* is written, in a school text-book, শের শা, as is *Shāh Jahān* written শাজাহান (not শাহ: জাহান); the Arabic word *Shāmil* is written সামিল (not শামিল); and the English word *fellowship* is written ফেলোশিপ (not ফেলোশিপ). The misuse of স, theoretically the equivalent of শ, loudly calls for rectification.

The s-sound is about as alien to Bengali, as is the ś-sound in Hindi. Even of the syllables স্র and স্র, the sounds are not exactly *sra*, I believe, but ছ্র, ছ্র being given its East Bengal sound. The East Bengal



sound of ঙ I have represented by g. It is usually represented, however, by ts, ( ত্স ), which, expressing a compound sound, does not appear to me to be a suitable means for expressing the simple sound of the East Bengal ঙ. If this ঙ is represented by g, then its aspirate ঙ্ will have to be represented by gh; and if this ঙ is represented by ts, its aspirate ঙ্ will have to be represented by tsh. That the proper sound of ঙ্ is tshri and not sri, and that the proper sound of ঙ্ is tshrōt and not srōt, receive some support from ঙ্ being ঙ্ and ঙ্ being ঙ্ in the mouths of Bengali illiterates, ঙ here having its West Bengal sound, I have heard even literate people in Calcutta call the late distinguished High Court Vakil, Mr. Srinath Das, Chināt Daś. The East Bengal ঙ-sound is hardly distinguishable from the English s-sound. The Sylhet Bengali word ঙ্ has been transliterated āsil in *The Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. V, Part I, pp. 229-230). The true s-sound is, however, not wanting in Bengali as spoken everywhere in the Bengali-speaking area. Manbhum, as a Bengali-speaking district, is ethnically a part of Bengal, though it is now politically outside the province of Bengal. At Purulia and its neighbourhood, in Manbhum, the river ঙ্ is called Kāsāi and not Kāsāi, by even the lowest classes of people, as I can say from personal knowledge. So the s-sound does exist in Bengali as spoken in a part of ethnical Bengal.

The sound expressed by the dotted characters ङ (Hindi) and ঙ (Bengali) is more nearly allied to that of ङ् than to र r. It would be more scientific, therefore, to represent ङ् by d marked some how than by f or r.

The compound characters ङ, ঙ, and ঙ demand notice :—

(1) ङ was for ages recognized as a letter of the Bengali alphabet, and was called kḥio, as it still is in the dictum, “বন্ধু কḥিও বন্ধু কḥিও,” which boys are made to learn; but how ক+খ can produce the sound কḥ, they are quite at a loss to understand. Theoretically ক is a compound of ক and খ, answering to the Devanagari क=क+ख. Now क changed its sound in Hindi to क, as

in the word बिष pronounced bikh (बिष). This gives a clue to the Bengali ক being considered equal to क+ख. क is now sounded initially as kh and non-initially as kkh. কḥ and কḥ are examples containing these two sounds.

(2) ঙ, as its form indicates, is a compound of ঙ and ঙ, so that its proper sound should be jñ. But its sound has changed in Bengali *pari passu* with its change in Hindi. The word गान in Hindi has become गान (gyān) in sound and also in writing; and in Bengali গান is sounded as if it were গান (=gan in the English word began), and বিজ্ঞ is sounded as if it were written বিগ্ণ (biggā). The ঙ (j) element in the letter ঙ has changed its sound to গ (g). The transliteration of গানেন্দ্র into Juanendra is, therefore, fully deserving of condemnation, for it changes the g-sound of the name into the j-sound.

(3) ঙ, according to the orthodox theory, is a compound of ঙ and ঙ; but the form of the letter belies the theory. ঙ is obviously a compound of ঙ and ঙ, and its sound has become ঙ, though some persons nowadays give it the sound of ঙ+ন, i.e., of ঙ+ন, not of ঙ+ন. The name written বিষ্ণুপুর is Bishtupur in the mouth of every Bengali. The transliterated form of the name, Vishnupur, is quite open to censure, the v (ব)-sound being wanting in Bengali, and ঙ not having the same sound as ঙ. Kristodas Pal, is a name now in common use, though the eminent owner of the name spelt it as Kristo Dass Pal, using s instead of sh in Kristo, in conformity apparently to Hindustani pronunciation. But the name কৃষ্ণদাস is colloquially not even Kristodas, but is Keshtodās, though the name as written is usually read as Kristodās.

Spelling does affect the sounds of words. Some sixty years ago there was a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, whose name in Bengali speech was Rāmcandor Mittir. His name in English letters was written as Ram Chunder Mitter. The name written then, as now, in Bengali character is রামচন্দ্র মিত্র, and it is now transliterated as Ramchandra Mitra. How is the name to be phonetically transcribed? About the মিত্র part of the name there is no difficulty, for the word in cur-



rent speech is still Mit-tir, and not Mitra or even Mittra, which is the sound of the written word. But rāmcandro, if not rāmcandra, has been gaining ground upon the old rāmcandar, (from Hindi rāmcandar), showing thus the influence of spelling upon the sounds of words. The names transliterated as Jogendra and Surendra are now generally sounded, I believe, as jogendro and surendro in Calcutta Bengali. It seems proper then that such names as রামচন্দ্র, যোগেন্দ্র and সুরেন্দ্র should be phonetically transcribed as Rāmcandro (optionally Rāmcandra), Jogendro (optionally Jogendra), and S'urendro (optionally Surendra). The option left would satisfy East Bengal people, and conform besides to existing practice.

There are difficulties about the phonetic romanisation of some other Bengali proper names. The name রামনারায়ণ, transliterated without diacritical marks, is Ramnarayan. But colloquially the name is Rāmnārān, the *ā* here having the sound of অ in the word আত্ম. The old spelling Ram Narain, approached the sound rāmnārān. The name should, in Roman letters be Rāmnārān, I think. There is greater difficulty about the names হৃদয় and হৃদীকেশ. Boys at school now pronounce হৃ as hri (not hṛi, hṛ), but the proper name হৃদয় is Ridae (not Kiday) in the mouths of people, and the proper name হৃদীকেশ is Rīśikeś. The Hon. Raja Kishee Case Law, C.I.E., spells his name as given here, and this shows that the initial *h*-sound is ignored even in aristocratic families. How are such names as হৃদয় and হৃদীকেশ to be phonetically transcribed? It would be expedient, it seems, to transcribe the names as 'ridae and 'rīśikeś, the initial ' apostrophe showing the elision of the letter H. Hr is a sound difficult to pronounce, and so the sound has been given up in Bengali as it is spoken. The হৃ of হৃদয় is pronounced by some Bengalis as *rhi* instead of *hri*.

To come now to the well-known Bengali patronymics, which in writing, in Bengali character, still appear in their antiquated forms বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, মুখোপাধ্যায়, চট্টোপাধ্যায়, গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, ঘোষাল, ভট্টাচার্য্য, চক্রবর্তী, সেন, ঘোষ, বসু, মিত্র, দত্ত and সিংহ, but which in Calcutta Bengali as spoken at the present day are

বাড়ুজ্জ, মুকুজ্জ চাটুজ্জ or চাটুজ্জ, গাঢ়লি or গাঢ়লী, ঘোষণ (unchanged), ভট্টাচার্য্য or ভট্টাচার্য্যী, চক্রবর্তী or চক্রোবর্তী, শ্যান, ঘোষ (unchanged), বোষ, মিত্রির, দত্তো and শিকী or শি. The latter set of names, as spoken in Hindustani, were anglicised very long ago as Banerjea (later Banerjee), Mookerjea (later Mookerjee), Chatterjea (later Chatterjee), Gangooly or Ganguly, Ghoshal, Bhattacharjee, Chuckerbutty, Sen, Ghose, Bose, Mitter, Dutt and Singh. The spellings Chuckerbutty (H. Chakarbatti), Ghose (H. Ghōs), Bose (H. Bōs) and Dutt (H. Datt) make it quite clear that the anglicised names sprung from the Bengali names as spoken in Hindustani. The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjea and Dr. Doorga Churn Banerjea spelt their patronymics as given here, and the latter gentleman's famous son, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, keeps up his father's spelling. The late Rai Bahadur Bankim Chunder Chatterjea, of high literary fame, spelt his patronymic as given here. I have seen also the spelling Mookerjea, but cannot now specify where. The *jea* of older times stood apparently for the Hindustani *jiā*, and as *ea* in English is usually pronounced the same as *ee*, as in the word *sea*, the *jea* in Banerjea, etc., appear to have changed to *jee*.

The Calcutta University a long time ago cast off the anglicised half-Hindustani names Banerjee, Mookerjee, Chatterjee, etc., and put up in their place Bandyopadhyay (for বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়), Mukhopadhyay (for মুখোপাধ্যায়), Chattopadhyay (for চট্টোপাধ্যায়), etc. This innovation was on the line of nationalism, revivalism and transliteration combined. বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় owes its origin to বন্দিঘাট, মুখোপাধ্যায় to মুখুটি (এখন 'মুকুটি'), চট্টোপাধ্যায় to চাটুতি (এখন 'চাটুতি'), গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় to গাঙ্গুল (চলিত নাম 'গাঙ্গুর' বা 'গাঙ্গুড়')-বন্দিঘাট, etc. being the names of villages in the রাঢ় (Rārh) section of Bengal.\* I have not been able to ascertain how and when the names—বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, মুখোপাধ্যায়, চট্টোপাধ্যায়, and গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় grew out of the names of the villages. The University innovation of Bandopadhyay, Mukhopadhyay,

\* বঙ্গের জাতীয় ইতিহাস, দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণ, প্রথমভাগ (ব্রাহ্মণ-কাণ্ড)—গ্রামাধিপত্যবর্ণন নগেন্দ্রনাথ বসু সিকান্দার-বারিধি প্রণীত।  
পৃ: ১১০, ১২১, ও ১২৪।



Chattopadhyay and Gangopadhyay have not been adopted by many. Ghosh in place of Ghose, Basu in place of Bose, and Mitra in place of Mitter have been largely adopted. But in these latter cases the gap between the old and the new has not been so wide as that between the handy Banerjee and the cumbersome Bandyopadhyay, for instance. Government have not accepted Bandopadhyay, Mukhopadhyay, etc., and have recently rectified the spelling of the prevalent names, Banerjee, Mookerjee, etc., according to the rules of transliteration. The rectified spellings have not been adopted by many.

Leaving aside such isolated spellings as Bonnerjee instead of Banerjea or Banerjee, Bhose or Vasu instead of Bose, and Mitra instead of Mitter, there was before the University's move a general consensus in Bengal about the spelling of patronymics in English letters. Neither, the University transliterations of names written in Bengali in antiquated fashion, nor the recent Government

rectifications, Banarji, Mukharji, etc., have received general acceptance. Is it not proper then that we should now consider whether we should not give up the old half-Hindustani anglicised names in their old and their present rectified forms and also the transliterated obsolete or all but obsolete names put forward by the University, and, taking up our stand on Bengali as it is now spoken, in the Calcutta section of the country, try to bring into general use the *living* Bengali names Baṛujje, Mukujje, Chāṛujje or Chāṭujje, Gaṇuli, Boś, Mittir, etc. Such a change would rest on a combined national and rational basis. There would be a difficulty about such names as Bāṛujje and Gaṇuli appearing in print, for most presses have no types with diacritical marks. They might appear in print without any diacritical marking of letters, but in writing with the hand diacritical marks could always be given.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

## NOTES

### Foreign Praise and Patriotism.

In foreign panegyrics of our customs, institutions and scriptures the elements of real appreciation of their intrinsic worth and the desire to be courteous to us are frequently combined, and a third element is sometimes added to it. In the charmed circle of savants, as well as among the lay public of the West, ancient Indian culture and civilisation had scarcely the reputation it deserved. The civilisations of Greece and Rome did not suffer from this disadvantage, but it is not easy to make a bid for originality in a subject worn threadbare by previous masters. A pioneer in a new field can, on the other hand, bring forward, by diligent search, fresh points of view for the delectation of a *blasé* world athirst for new sensations, and herein the Oriental scholar finds his opportunity and usefulness. But he has to break unfamiliar ground, and for this reason, and also to attract attention to himself and his work, he must cry up his wares for all they are worth, and this

leads him to exaggerate the value of the subject on which he has specialised and of the objects with which he has to deal. Moreover, anything out of the common range of study exercises a mysterious fascination upon a certain class of select minds. Thus we find ourselves confronted by a perplexing situation created by the fact that while the generality of cultured Westerners condemn some of our customs and institutions and certain aspects of our civilisation as barriers to further progress and as lying at the root of our arrested development, there are others, often highly gifted and generous minds, who see a soul of good in them, and even ask us to stick to them. The question is, what is the Indian's duty under the circumstances?

That duty, as we conceive it, is not to surrender our right of private judgment in the face of either praise or blame. Accept just so much of both as you find, on critical examination, to be true and not a word more. In regard to disparaging remarks, our instinctive love of self and



country makes us adopt a vigilant and critical attitude, but when we are well spoken of, we feel flattered, our vanity is gratified, and we are usually not disposed to be critical, and may even consider such an attitude to be ungracious. Besides, an idea is prevalent among us that it is necessary to lay the colours thick on our bright patches in order to infuse self-confidence in our minds, and without self-confidence, it is truly thought, no nation can make much headway. In other words, these foreign eulogies are regarded as serving the same purpose as what are known in medical psychology as 'auto-suggestions.' We do deny that in a moderate dose, they do serve this purpose. But when we are apt to be carried off our feet by such praise, we do not think that the food is either healthy or wholesome for us. To lose our balance is not good for us either racially or individually, and is rather a sign of mental weakness and morbidity of temperament. A mind which hankers too much for other people's praise, or ignores the qualifications by which such praise is conditioned, is a mind diseased. Inordinate vanity, by making us blind to our faults, effectually shuts out the path to progress, which lies through the removal of those faults. It may even be the object of some designing persons to feed this vanity with a view to serve their own ends and utilise their personal opportunities, as is said to be the case with the courtiers by whom Indian noblemen are often surrounded. And there are even those who think that all the loud talk about our spirituality which we sometimes hear from foreign politicians who cannot be said to be very spiritually-minded themselves, is purposely designed to keep our attention fixed on the other world in order to make it all the easier for them to exploit our material resources. Again, all eulogies of Indian customs and institutions, ancient and modern, are to be read subject to the rooted conviction at the back of every Western Orientalist's mind which they never care to conceal and must be evident to all who dive deeply into their writings, that for a people so imperfectly developed as the Indians, some of their institutions deserve all praise. Their praise is therefore always relative, and never unqualified, as many of us, who read it apart from the context are, in our enthusiasm, apt to suppose.

We are fond of quoting the Englishman

against himself. Let us remember how often in English literature, both permanent and ephemeral, we come across passages in which the writer holds up his national vices to scorn. This shows a strength of character and backbone, and a vigour of thought, which are lacking among us. The great nations of the world have become great not by sticking fast to everything, but by casting off much that was bad in them. They have plenty of good men and true, men held in high esteem among their countrymen, who can accuse them roundly when occasion arises, and dare to be 'in the right with two or three'. To hold fast to all that we have inherited from our past and prevent a single ray of critical light to penetrate its darkness except with a view to extol it, connotes a pathetic though subconscious fear that the process will shatter many of our beautiful dreams. Should we imitate the bat and shun the light merely to hug our fantasies to our bosom? 'Light, more light!' are said to be the dying words of Goethe, the greatest apostle of culture the modern world has seen, and we could choose no better motto for ourselves. It may be that by allowing the light of reason to penetrate into the dark recesses of our mind we shall not be destroying only, but may also be building up anew, and placing our love of country and of our past on a reasoned and therefore permanent and lasting basis. That is certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished, and one more worthy of us than dancing like marionettes in the hands of our foreign admirers, who while pulling the strings from behind, perceive our weakness and feel amused by it. Impartial foreigners, who are neither specialists nor politicians with axes of their own to grind, will respect us all the more if we import less of sentiment and more of discrimination in our patriotism.

We must love our country—that is the essential condition.

Such is the patriots' boast, where'er we roam,

His first, best country ever is at home.—truly said Goldsmith, and Cowper echoed the same sentiment when he said: 'England, with all thy faults, I love thee still!' A genius, like that of Rabindranath Tagore for instance, cannot, it is true, give up to country what was meant for mankind, but without cultivating the unnatural detach-



ment of people whom the poet satirises as 'friends of every country but their own', we too may, in our own humble degree, reconcile patriotism with our higher mental needs as human beings. Rationalists may be nationalists, but Chauvinists can hardly be rationalists. If you really love your country, the sweet seduction of sailing with the multitude and winning their applause thereby should not appeal to you. It may be that by following the line of least resistance you shock current opinion the least and achieve the most result even in the direction of progress and reform, and for that reason it is perhaps to be desired. But it should certainly not be your aim to conciliate current opinion by the sacrifice of your reasoned convictions. "It is so much easier to assume than to prove," said Lecky; "it is so much less painful to believe than to doubt; there is such a charm in the repose of prejudice, when no discordant voice jars upon the harmony of belief; there is such a thrilling pang when cherished dreams are scattered and old creeds abandoned, that it is not surprising that men should close their eyes to the unwelcome light." Let us beware of this insidious tendency and love our country in the spirit of men who really want to see her great and take her rightful place among the living nations of the world, and not like men who are content to brag of her past and let the present and the future take care of themselves. Just as we remind our rulers not to forget in India the doctrines of liberty which are being applied on the battlefields of Europe, so should we see to it that the democratic and rationalistic doctrines which we apply in our political sphere are not forgotten in the more intimate concerns of our social and cultural life.

### The Montagu-Chelmsford Report and a Story or Two.

There is an Indian story of a miser who, unable to bear the badgering of his friends regarding his close-fistedness, and also to allay the compunctions, visitings of his conscience, generously resolved to give away a few rupees. Thereupon he took out some coins from his strong-box and summoned a beggar to his presence. But lo! when the beggar came, he found that he was quite unequal to the heroic sacrifice he had been contemplating, and instinctively he shut his palm. At the same time,

his friends were watching him, and he keenly felt the desire to make the gift and be quits with them. Only his lifelong habit proved too strong for him, and would not let him carry out his heart's desire. When he was in this fix, an idea struck him. He called out to the beggar to force his palm open, and snatch away the money, as he could not bear to transfer the coins voluntarily and of his own free will from his own hands to those of another. The reform proposals now before us remind us of this story. The Report contains ample evidence that the heart is willing, but the hand trembles when it comes to making actual changes in the present bureaucratic regime, and the people are left, especially in the sphere of the Supreme Government which is the source of all power, to make as much, or as little, as they can of the Government's good intentions.

There is a story of another miser who started from home with a rupee in his hand to buy some good thing in the bazaar and have a good time. But when he stood before the shop which sold the thing of his choice, hesitating as to what he should do, he opened his palm to have a last look at his darling rupee. He found it wet (with perspiration). Whereupon he exclaimed, "*Bachcha rota hai*," "the child is weeping" (at the thought of parting from his master). So he went back home with the rupee unspent. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy want to purchase in the world's political bazaar the good name of being friends of freedom at the cost of some of their Power and Pelf, but evidently their Power and Pelf are "*bachchas*" who "*roten hain*,"—"they are weeping at the thought of separation from their masters"!

### The 'Independence' of Councillors.

The *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* says that in the Punjab, where the nominated element in the legislative council is strong, there is more 'independence' of action than in the other provinces (para. 98). This proves to demonstration that nominated members do not represent the people; for the people's representatives, it is conceded, vote differently from them. The object of the councils being the representation of the people's views, this is in reality an admission that nomination does not fulfil this object and is therefore unjustifiable. This is in fact



admitted in para. 232, where it is said that nominated members are an anomaly in a responsible council. But apart from this, what does the 'independence' of members mean? They may be independent of popular control and subservient to official opinion, or they may be independent of official influence and amenable to popular control. There can be no question as to which of the two alternatives is preferable in the present stage of India's political progress. The bureaucracy is powerful enough as it is and it requires no moral courage to swim with the tide of officialdom. Public opinion, on the other hand, is weak, and it requires some strength of character to stand up for it. Unprejudiced foreigners like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, trained in the parliamentary life of England, are of opinion that the Indian 'lacks courage to oppose the ruling race in his councils' (*Awakening of India*, Pop. Ed., p. 181). The sort of independence of which the *Report* speaks is therefore neither more nor less than lack of courage. The use of the word 'independence' in para. 98 of the *Report* is in fact an excellent example of the perversion of the meaning of words. This perversion of the meanings of words is no new thing. For when in connection with the Morley-Minto Reforms it was at first officially proposed to have councils of "Notables," their object was stated to be to *elicit independent opinion*!

### What are Educated Indians to Do?

In the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* one of the dominating conditions of India is admitted to lie in the fact that immense masses of the people are ignorant (para 132). When Mr. Gokhale tried to remove this ignorance by universal elementary education, his proposal was rejected. When educated Indians ask for full responsible government, they are told that their number is very few and the great majority of their countrymen are sunk in ignorance and cannot furnish proper electorates (187, 133, 140, 263, &c). When they ask for employment in positions carrying administrative responsibility, they are told that 33 per cent of the 'superior posts' will be thrown open to them, and that "a substantial element of Englishmen must remain and must be secured both in her [India's] government and in her public service" (323), though at the same time it is admitted that the

weakness of Indian public life lies in the absence of a body of trained administrators among Indians and the success of the new policy will depend on the extent to which it is found possible to introduce Indians into every branch of the administration (313). When the educated Indian, finding every door barred against him, begins to clamour, the justice of his complaint is recognised and the *Report* admits that "the charge that government has produced a large *intelligentsia* which cannot find employment has much substance in it" (182) and that "mere education without opportunities must result in serious mischief" (187). When friends like H. H. the Aga Khan and Sir Theodore Morison ask for his employment in the conquered German Colonies in Africa, the *Times* replies that the educated Indians will be far too few for India's own needs in the good time coming and they cannot therefore be spared for service elsewhere. In other words, want of education for the spread of which the Indian has hitherto clamoured unsuccessfully, is made the plea for not granting him full rights of citizenship, and at the same time the few who are educated are shut out from the higher services in their own country, and when an avenue for employment outside India is pointed out, they are told that the white man must continue to bear the burden there inasmuch as educated Indians will all be absorbed by the reformed Indian administration, though the *Report* definitely fixes the proportion of those that will be so employed and leaves the others out in the cold, to shift for themselves as best as they may. Government is not of course bound to provide for all the educated men in the country, but so long as this can be done by the substitution of costly and foreign by comparatively cheap and indigenous agency, the educated Indians, 'in the more spacious days to come' (5) shall have every right to insist that not one of them should remain unemployed.

### The Future of German Colonies.

Reuter wires under date the 12th September:

"Mr. George's terrible indictment of German treatment of natives in South-West Africa is generally commented on. The "Daily Chronicle" says: Whatever the future of the other German colonies may be, it is impossible that South-West-Africa can be restored to Germany. The "Daily Graphic" says: After such an exposure, the return of any colonies to Germany



would make the Allies partners in her unspeakable crimes.... The "Times" says: Knowing the Germans as we do, we could not restore any Natives to their tender mercies without becoming deliberate accomplices in their crimes."

The war has really been an eye-opener from many points of view, and the new angle of vision, of which we hear so much, is nowhere more in evidence than in this new-born love of the 'native' races of Africa. Who ever thought that there was such a latent fund of sympathy in the Anglo-Saxon mind for these semi-civilised people trodden under the heels of Germany? It is of course quite a secondary matter that the non-return of those colonies to Germany means their appropriation by the *Entente* powers, most probably by Great Britain, for the right of 'self-determination' so generously conceded to them by Mr. Lloyd George in a well-known speech, must not be supposed to mean the right of these native races to be masters in their own land, but the glorious right to choose their master. By the way, the Germans in none of their colonies could have perpetrated horrors more blood-curdling than those of Belgium in the Congo Free State, popularly known on that account as the *Red Rubber* colony. The righteous indignation which has burst forth in the English press against German oppression in Africa makes it quite certain that it had long been decided to take away Congo from Belgium, though we do not remember to have seen any announcement to that effect in the English press. But as the British people are not in the habit of doing good by stealth or of hiding their light under a bushel, some misgivings may arise in sceptical minds regarding the future of Congo, which should be set at rest by the timely publication of authentic information on the subject.

### Deportations in England.

We take the following passage from the book named "1920," which is reviewed elsewhere in this number:—

"Then, again, others were guilty of a thing called enemy associations."

"And what," I interposed, "does that exactly mean?"

"Why, don't you understand?" Roxburgh replied. "The conspicuous merit of the term depends upon its not meaning anything exactly. It is one of Dora's masterstrokes in semi-legal linguistics. You see, it can cover everything, from the possession of a German dictionary to plotting to deliver Woolwich Arsenal to the enemy. And the best of it is since it

isn't an offence against the law, no charge can be brought, and so no evidence is required, no legal trial follows, no cross-examination or other defence, and above all, no publicity."

"And therefore," I suppose, "no imprisonment, no punishment!"

"Certainly not," was his reply. "Persons against whom such reasonable suspicion lies may be 'deported' from their home and kept in 'detention,' but they are never subjected to imprisonment."

"And where are they kept?" I asked.

"Why, usually in buildings otherwise employed for persons under legal sentence, but in this case described as 'places of detention'."

"But does it really matter what they are called?" I broke in.

"Why, you surprise me," said Roxburgh. "Of course it matters everything. It would never do for a nation like ours to stain its glorious traditions of liberty and justice by imprisoning people without trial."

"Of course it wouldn't," I replied. "Pardon the clumsiness of my suggestion. But there is one other word you used on which I should be glad to have some light. You spoke of 'reasonable suspicion.' And who decides whether the grounds of suspicion are reasonable or not?"

"Why, Dora, of course, and the impartial persons she appoints to look after her interests. These important matters cannot be left to the hazard of conflicting counsel, and the eccentricities of juries. But as for grounds or reasons, they are strictly out of place. For, since you suspect only in cases when you cannot prove, the demand for evidence becomes irrelevant as well as inconvenient."

"I may tell you that one of the most valuable achievements of this war for liberty has been the liberation of the nation from the net-work of juridical and constitutional niceties in which she was in danger of being strangled. A free nation requires a free Government, that is, a government free to make and to unmake its laws and constitution as it goes along."

"And who are the persons that exercise this freedom? For in the last resort it is always persons who do things. And even Dora, I gather, doesn't do everything off her own hat!".....

"Well, I suppose that in the last resort it is the members of Government—I mean of the cabinet, that is to say, of the War cabinet."

"And who," I asked, "appointed the War Cabinet, and conferred upon it this freedom?"

"Forgive my apparent rudeness," he replied, "but you are evidently out of touch with the spirit of our times, or you wouldn't ask such a question. The War cabinet could only come into existence in one way, by virtue of that power of self-determination which is the essence of true freedom.".....

"But," I broke in, "what about liberty and making the world safe for democracy? Is there no loss of liberty in the doing of Dora?"

"Not at all," was Roxburgh's answer. "There is just as much liberty as ever—only it is concentrated at the top. It is as the poet sang: 'Of old sat Freedom on the heights'..... —1920, by Lucian, being reprints from the London Nation. (Headley Bros., Kingsway, W. C.).

Dora is the name affectionately given in England to the Defence of the Realm Act. Similarly, we may call our Defence of India Act "Ida" (India Defence Act), though its



associations are different from those of the name *Ida* in Tennyson's *Aenone*.

### War Truths.

The same book "1920" predicts how in 1920, if the war lasts so long, the State would assume complete control over the intellectual and moral resources of the British nation. The prophecy is only a sarcastic warning.

"Truth is what helps to win the war. Directly I realised the supreme significance of this judgment, I saw also how famously it fitted on to that political philosophy of State Absolutism, which came to us from Hobbs, not from the Charlatan Hegel, as the men of Balliol so falsely taught... I felt myself a man with a mission, and immediately offered to put at the disposal of the Government a general scheme for the production and distribution of war-truth, substituting a really scientific method for the clumsy empiricism of their censorship and war-news department... Though quite early in the conflict we pretended to regard it as a War of Ideas, it took several years before we were really prepared as a nation to mobilise upon this basis. We didn't see at first that in a War of Ideas the State must have complete control over the intellectual and moral resources of the nation... they went on some time suppressing and doctoring what they called 'news', and merely conniving at mob-violence for the suppression of inconvenient opinions. This loose sham-voluntarism lasted for several years before it was recognised how essential a war-service it was to drill the whole intellectual and spiritual forces of the nation into complete harmony with the supreme purpose of a State at war. A joint conference of the leaders of the Churches, the Universities, and the Press, was the instrument by which the War Council was at last induced to sanction a complete scheme of intellectual conscription, the natural concomitant of military and industrial conscription, in that it placed the mind as well as the body of all persons under military discipline... truth is a raw material, infinitely malleable and adaptable to purposes of State. Once grasp that notion, and the full potentialities of our Psychological Laboratory will become quite clear. We begin by accepting the familiar distinction, true for me, false for you. This idea of the relativity and adaptability of knowledge is then generalised and applied in the processes of our laboratory, for producing out of the same raw material the separate truths which war requires for the home consumer, the Ally, the neutral and the enemy. The crude fact is the same for all; everything depends upon the treatment... Given the analysis of the recipient, it becomes merely a question of preparing and applying the requisite Alloy." "Alloy!" I exclaimed. "Do you mean that you deliberately falsify the facts?" "Not at all," he replied a little warmly, "you do injustice to the delicacy of our art. It is our duty to compose the sort of news which it is good for the respective parties to receive, and to mould the sentiments and opinions it is good for them to hold. And then when our expert taster says that we have got it just right, it is pumped into the news-agencies and the other publicity machines..... The public mind must not be allowed to be confused or depressed by information which, however accurate and even interesting, is not nutritious. The same applies to all sorts of opinion and discussion.....

As certain section of the public, you see, is always eager for exact measured information, and we have a clever little group of trained men from the school of Economics to give them what they want. But I have dared to reserve for myself the most delicate and interesting of all the jobs."

"And what," I said, "may that be?"

"Why, the manufacture of the Myth..... It is the mirage of a world Democracy rising instantaneously from the fumes of the blood-soaked battlefield. Whenever the vision gets a little dim, which happens sometimes as the war drags on, I get some great phrase-maker of our statesmen to put in a few new bright touches, or sometimes a vigorous journalist will lend a hand. In one way or another, we have managed so far to keep the fine old Myth in excellent repair. You have no notion what a lot of war-spirit it can be made to yield. When occasionally things look very black, I set to work myself and put some new allurements into the substance of the Myth."—*Ibid*.

### War-Aims.

"1920" has the following on war-aims:—

"Surely our speeches and replies to Germany have made it evident that our aims are the crushing of Prussian militarism, the liberation of subject-nationalities, the restoration of conquered territories, the enthronement of public law in Europe, and making the world safe for democracy".....

".....These Russian idealists still persist in pressing on us the policy of 'No Annexation.'"

"But I thought we'd accepted that long ago."

"So we have. But only, you must remember, as 'a matter of principle,' and with the qualifications which that expression carries to practical statesmen. If we had to do what you seem to require, reduce the principle to terms of concrete War-Aims, we should be at once in the soup."

"I don't understand you. Surely no territorial ambitions of ours brought us into the war. We shall get nothing out of it."

"Oh! I wasn't thinking of what we were to get. Though, of course, there are those German colonies and those pickings in Asia and in Palestine. It would be awkward to explain how we didn't want these things but couldn't give them up now that Providence had put them under our trust; and how that the British Empire was one for the making of war, but five for the distribution of the loot. Neutrals simply can't be got to see the logic of the British Empire. We ought to have an Imperial Propaganda Campaign later on, with a really competent staff from the War-Truth Department, to drive home the meaning....."

"Then what's the difficulty?"

"Why, just this. It compels us to keep to that atmosphere of vague generalities of which you complain. For if we were to explain to all and sundry how that our interpretation of the principle excluded all cases of 're-annexation', 'areas of legitimate aspiration', 'historic rights', 'defensive frontiers', 'territorial adjustments', not to mention 'colonies', and that we only proposed the principle should be applied to the territory of enemy Powers, not only Russians, but other foolish sticklers for so-called consistency would gibe at us."—*Ibid*.

### Reprisals in 1920.

The book called "1920" tries to give some idea of what reprisals in 1920 might



be, if the war lasted so long and if Prussian militarism were not prevented from acquiring undisputed sway over the mind of the British nation.

"Marlow was the man who planned out the splendid bombing excursion to Leipsic on Easter Day, when our air-force got above the German barrage and dropped several thousand bombs on the great school-children's procession—the most brilliant scoop of the year." "Why, yesterday he had conferred on him the new order of the Star of Bethlehem"... he began to dilate upon the Yeoman's service rendered by the Press in soothing the qualms of the "sentimentalists" and in showing how a continued execration of Hun methods was quite consistent with imitation of them. Indeed, the newspapers gave the nation a most serviceable lead over the stile by pointing out that we were entitled to hate the Hun the more in exact proportion to the moral turpitude of every method which he has forced us to adopt!

"But," again I interrupted, "no nation can force another to degrade itself." "I am sorry to seem rude," retorted Dodson, "but your crude ethics, plausible as they appeared at first, were soon disposed of by the Westminster in a convincing judgment which I think I can remember: 'We cannot give the enemy the military and moral advantage of practising on our nation what we do not practise on his'—a rendering of the Golden Rule, the equity and elevation of which at once commended themselves to all right thinking people."—*Ibid.*

### Help from Australia to Fiji.

An important letter has been received by Mr. C. F. Andrews from the Association for the Protection of the Races in the Pacific, which has taken up most thoroughly the cause of the Indian women in Fiji. The Association has been in official communication with Mr. Edward Knox, Chairman of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. An interview with the Company was refused and in the Annual Report a slur was cast on the loyalty of those who were engaged in upholding the rights of the Indian women on the Company's Estates. This charge of seeking to stir up trouble in war time has recoiled upon the Company itself, and it has been pointed out that this has been the effect of the Company's refusal to treat Indian women with proper regard to modesty and decency. Mr. Knox has replied briefly to the Association's letter of enquiry and his reply has been forwarded to the Fiji Government. It has received from that Government a long reply, which shows how unsatisfactory things have been in the past, but there are now hopes of improvement. The Association has determined to go on with this work for the Indians in Fiji till each wrong has been righted.

A personal letter has been received by Mr. Andrews from which the following may be quoted:—

"There have been difficulties and unavoidable delays: at times it seemed as if the enemy of humanity was going to succeed. But those in Australia, who have been convinced of the justice of the Indian cause, have remained staunch. I think that there is going to be a distinct change for the better. The 'matron' question I regard as well on the way to settlement. But the reform of the coolie 'lines' themselves, which we must tackle now, will be strongly opposed. It has been quite impossible to get the Australian daily press to take up the matter—the reason is not far to seek.....I have been very glad, personally, to have been given an opportunity of helping in righting these flagrant outrages on humanity in Fiji. We have a lot ahead of us yet. You will be sorry to hear that—(mentioning one who had given the greatest assistance) is dangerously ill. I will give him your message when he is a little better. I will cable you if the matrons are to be appointed."

We are sincerely thankful to the Australian ladies and gentlemen who are taking so much interest in the welfare of Indians in Fiji, and working with zeal to promote it. It is Mr. C. F. Andrews who roused the interest of our Australian friends in the Fiji Indian problem. We have cause to be deeply grateful to him. It must be a source of unalloyed satisfaction for him to find that his labours are bearing fruit, as is proved not only by news received from Australia but by the partial acceptance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution relating to indentured Indian labourers in the Crown colonies by the Government of India.

### Freedom for Poland.

The Irish Poet T. D. Sullivan has written:—

"Oh! freedom is a glorious thing?  
Even so our gracious rulers say?  
And what they say, I sure may sing,  
In quite a legal proper way.  
They praise it up with all their might,  
And praise the men who seek it too,—  
Provided all the row and fight  
Are out in Poland;—*Thiggin thu?*"

"*Thiggin thu*" is an Erse phrase meaning "Do you understand?"



## The "Matter" of Seditions and Their Remedy.

One hears of seditions and other troubles almost every day. And journalists and bureaucrats write and speak of them for the passing hour and are forgotten. But there are men who wrote about them not only for their own age, but for succeeding ages, too. Let us hear what one such great thinker has written. Bacon writes in his essay "Of Seditions and Troubles":—

".....the surest way to prevent seditions, is to take away the *matter* of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The *matter* of *salitions* is of two kinds: much poverty and much discontentment."

In India there is much of both poverty and discontent.

Bacon also says in the same essay: "For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst."

He suggests remedies too.

"The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is want and poverty in the estate."

He did not consider suppression and repression a sovereign remedy. He wrote:

".....he that turneth the humors back and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious impostumations."

### "Is India so Poor?"

In the course of his speech on Sir William Meyer's resolution on the war contribution Sir George Lowndes, the Law Member, asked:

"My Lord, is India so poor when the balances you have with the bankers in England ran up to £ 83,000,000, upon which we shall draw assuredly at the end of the war?"

In thinking or speaking of the wealth or poverty of India, Englishmen and Indians have two Indias in view. When Englishmen think or speak of India's wealth, they have in view either the India of the Government of India or the India of Anglo-Indian merchants and bureaucrats. When we think or speak of India's poverty, we have in view the India of the people. The balances with the bankers in England do not belong to the people of India. These balances do not benefit our people; they do not protect them from sun or rain or wind; they do not cover their nakedness; they do not fill their bellies; they do not give them good water to drink, or irrigate their fields; they do not

finance their trade or industries; they do not give them clean healthy villages and towns, or provide them with medical relief at need; nor do they remove their illiteracy. The Law Member referred to these balances to show that some peoples' India is rich; but we are sure if a non-official Indian member had moved a resolution for increasing the grants for education or sanitation, these balances would not have been trotted out, they would have remained out of sight, as they are in far-away England. By the bye, not to speak of any independent country, is there any country in the British Empire except India which keeps such huge balances in a foreign country for the benefit of foreigners?

### India's Poverty.

The abysmal depth of India's poverty may not satisfy the Law Member, but there have been other Englishmen who have been of a different opinion. Let us quote some of them. They shall be of various kinds.

Bengal, which practically means Calcutta, has headed the second Indian war loan. Evidently, therefore, Calcutta is a rich city, the richest in Bengal, if not in India. But it is mainly the Anglo-Indian merchants and the Marwaris who are rich, not the mass of the people, even in Calcutta. In proof whereof, we give the following extract from the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* (a British-owned and British-edited monthly) for July 1914:—

"It is usually assumed that, being a great city, a large Indian city is therefore wealthy. The converse is really the case. The average wealth of the units comprising such a city is very low: absurdly low on a Western basis. In Calcutta, for example, the average yield per inhabitant for municipal purposes may be placed at about 12s. per head, while in London it is more like £5-10s. per head.....Again, the 12s. per head, although greatly less than the Londoner's contribution, is an infinitely larger proportion of the average individual wealth."

The *Investor's Review* gave the following indirect testimony a few years ago:

"He [ 'the holidaying bureaucrat' ] lives far away among the foot-hills of the Himalayas for the greater part of the year, and to him India, the real India, is only vaguely known a haze-covered landscape in the far distance. Convert, however, the figures of this budget into the conventional rupee and try to work out what they mean to the masses who find the money. A revenue of £73,751,000 is equivalent to nearly 1101 million rupees. Now this money has to be raised chiefly, if not entirely, from the population of India directly under British rule.....The average earnings of this population, leaving out of account



the small and diminishing number of the well-to-do, cannot be put at much more than 50 rupees per annum, and we will assume that one human being in every three is earning this average wage—that is to say, we put the families at an average of three including the bread-winner, instead of the five usually employed by statistics-builders in this country. On this basis the taxation comes to about 13 rupees per family, or roughly three months' earnings of the one who works. That is about what the brilliantly constructed bureaucrat's budget for our Indian empire comes to, when brought down towards the unromantic fact. Is it possible to be sanguine about the future of British India under conditions such as this calculation implies?

Take again, another piece of indirect evidence. It is well known that India is the only country in the world where plague in an epidemic form has raged for the last twenty-two years. Now, plague being a poverty-disease, it can find a hospitable abode for well-nigh a quarter of a century only in a very poor country. Dr. Simpson, late health officer of the Calcutta municipality, says in his work on Plague:

"The plague, now as formerly, is largely a disease of the poor, and perhaps falls proportionately more heavily than any other infection on the lower strata of society. At one time, it acquired the name of the beggars' disease, at another the poor plague, and at another *miseræ morbus*.

"Dr. Cabiadis in contrasting the immunity of Kербela with the prevalence of plague in Hillah attributes the difference to the prosperous condition of the inhabitants of the former place, even the poorest class enjoying a meat-diet, and to the spacious and well-aired houses, though the streets are narrow and crooked."

We will now quote some direct evidence. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says in *The Awakening of India*: popular edition, p. 91:

"For days and days one goes through the land and sees nothing but thin bodies toiling, toiling, toiling, trudging, trudging, trudging; or pinched bodies worshipping, worshipping, worshipping, with a sadness that one sees in no other temples. India is the home of the poverty-stricken."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P., has written as follows in *India: Impressions and Suggestions*, 2nd edition:

"The real rat-plague, then, in India, is poverty,..... The emaciated, bloodless body of the ryot has no plague-resisting power, and so the fell disease finds him an easy victim."

Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Keir Hardie's opinions may be dismissed as those of stinking labourites. Let us, therefore, quote the opinion of one more blessed by fortune. The extract given below is from *India under Ripon: A Private Diary*. By Wilfrid Seawen Blunt.

"Unless I have wholly failed to make my reasoning

clear, readers of these essays will by this time have understood that, in answer to the question propounded at the outset of this inquiry—namely, whether the connection between England and India is of profit to the Indian people; and to the further question whether the Indian people regard it as of profit—I have come to conclusions on the whole favorable to that connection.

"My argument, in a few words, has been this: seeking the balance of good and evil, I have found, on the one hand, a vast economic disturbance, caused partly by the selfish commercial policy of the English Government, partly by the no less selfish expenditure of the English official class.

"I have found the Indian peasantry poor, in some districts to starvation, deeply in debt, and without the means of improving their position; the wealth accumulated in a few great cities and in a few rich hands; the public revenue spent to a large extent abroad, and by an absentee Government. I have been unable to convince myself that the India of 1885 is not a poorer country, take it altogether, than it was a hundred years ago, when we first began to manage its finances.....

"On the other side, I have found an end put to the internecine wars of former days, peace established, security for life given, and a settled order of things on which men can count. I have never heard a native of India underrate the advantage of this, nor of the corresponding enfranchisement of the mind from the bondage in which it used to lie."

We will conclude with the testimony of Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., G.C.V.O., C.B., LL.D. He was Sergeant-Surgeon to King Edward VII, and serves His Majesty King George V, too, in the same capacity. He was specially retained by the Government to go to the Boer War, and was Lord Rector of Aberdeen University, 1906-9. He has published several books of travel, being a much-travelled man. This gives his opinion great weight. According to the Daily Mail Year Book he is "busy on war work." One of his books of travel is *The Other Side of the Lantern* from which we make the extracts given below:

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if, in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move across the great red sun as it sets in the west, and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed,.....

"The country would seem to be overrun by a multitude of men, women and children, all of about the same degree, a little below the most meagre



comfort, and a little above the nearest reach of starvation."

".....At night there is no dark alley without the sleeping figure of the homeless man."

"These are some of the great hordes who provide in their lean bodies victims for the yearly sacrifice to cholera, famine, and plague. Plague will slay 20,000 in a week, cholera will destroy ten times that number in a year, and the famine of one well-remembered time accounted for five-and-a-quarter millions of dead people."

Other similar opinions might have been quoted, but *cui bono*? The typical British bureaucrat and the typical British merchant would remain unconvinced in spite of evidence piled on evidence. As for convincing our own countrymen, that is unnecessary; for the vast majority of them are themselves poor and see poverty on all sides. Whatever Englishmen may or may not say, our people know from personal experience that they are poor.

We have spoken above of the typical British merchant, for sweeping criticisms of classes of men are not likely to be entirely true, and there is evidence to show that there may be some British merchants in our midst who think that the masses of the people have not had a chance under British rule. For instance, Sir Daniel Hamilton is reported to have said in the course of a speech the other day:

"As the holder of a few jute mill shares, I feel ashamed to look a jute grower in the face. That we should be raking in 100 per cent. dividends while he is on his beam-ends.....does not tally with British ideas of fair-play." "But what the jute growers are suffering now is what the masses of India more or less suffer from the day they take up life's burden till the day they lay it down. It is a condition of things that can be tolerated no longer and it is not a credit to British rule that it has been tolerated so long."

### Mr. W. W. Pearson in England.

The friends of Mr. W. W. Pearson will be glad to know that he has arrived safely in England and is staying at his own home in Manchester. His health has very much improved and he is under treatment and advice from the Liverpool School of Medicine for Tropical Diseases. He is taking up work among the soldiers, of a social and educational character, in connexion with the soldiers' camps near his Manchester home.

### America and Alcoholic Drinks.

The American Food Administration has decided that all breweries in the United States must close on December 1. The whole of the Dominion of Canada is also now under prohibition.

Thus in two great Western countries where people were accustomed to drink, prohibition is shortly going to be the rule. In India, of which the vast majority of the people never drank spirituous liquors, the drink revenue is on the increase, and the Government of India refused to declare, as suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. B. N. Sarma, that the goal of its excise policy was prohibition.

### A Sin and its Expiation.

"*Goru mere juta dan*" is a proverbial expression current among Bengali Hindus. Hindus consider the killing of a cow a great sin, and the proverb ridicules the attempt to expiate the sin of cow-killing by the gift of a pair of shoes. One is reminded of this proverb by the decision of the Bombay Government to spend the excess profits on the sale of country spirits in promoting education, sanitation, &c. It is, however, the best use that can be made of such ill-gotten gains. But the pity is what the Education and Sanitation Departments do in the way of making men intellectually, morally and physically fit, is undone by the Excise Department by making them intellectually, morally and physically unfit.

### A Non-Brahman Supporting Home Rule.

It is proclaimed by the Sydenham gang in England and their jackals in the Anglo-Indian press that the non-Brahmans are solidly opposed to Home Rule and that Dr. Nair is the representative spokesman of that community. It has been repeatedly proved that such is not the case. We give one more proof.

Mr. M. N. Venkataswami, M.R.A.S., and Member of the British Folklore Society, is a distinguished non-Brahman. He openly avows that he is a Pariah, a caste even lower and therefore even more representative of the depressed classes than Dr. Nair's. His father, Mr. Nagloo, rose by sheer ability and organising power from the lowest rank in life to be the owner of the first European hotel at Nagpur. Mr. Venkataswami himself has received a good English education and written very readable English books, like the *Life of Nagloo* (reviewed by us in February 1909), the *Story of Bobbili* and a neat volume of *Folk Stories from India* just published at Madras. This cultured non-Brahman sent a representation to the Secretary of State



when in India (23 March 1918) advocating Home Rule. We quote his very words :—

"The Pariahs are a much persecuted and maligned race from antiquity down to the present time. . . . The Depressed Classes in the various parts of India, Bombay and Poona to wit,—waited in deputation on your honour and requested that self-government be granted to India, while the Andhra-Dravida Sabha of Madras, (also a Depressed class community) requested that self-government be *not* granted. The persecution of the Pariah is (therefore) much greater in Southern Presidency than in any other part of the country; and the poor fellows, being afraid that the persecution would be very much greater were the higher castes invested with additional power, showed a decided hatred against self-government. . . . But why the non-Brahmans of that very country, with no less a personage than Dr. Nair at their head, should show an unfriendly attitude towards self-government, is difficult to understand.

But I, for one, connected by ties of blood with the Eastern section of the Andhra-Dravidians, . . . beg to state as my humble opinion that the tirade that is going on against Home Rule at the hands of my own people, is improper, and most respectfully submit at the same time that self-government is the best form of government for the development of India in its various stages of progress, . . . and pray that it may be granted in full measure. When the broad example of Booker Washington's country, which has done so much for the depressed classes of that great democratic country, is before my mind's eye, I believe in self-government as I believe in my own existence."

He then makes some concrete suggestions for improving the condition of his caste-men; but these do not involve constitutional changes.

### **Education of Girls and Women in Assam.**

The following note appearing in the *Commonweal* of the 16th August 1918 will give some idea of the present state of Education of Girls and Women in Assam :

"For the first time two Assamese ladies have taken the B.A. degree of the Calcutta University this year; and we are glad they have passed with honours in Sanskrit. This fact, however, shows the very backward state of Women's education in Assam. It is understood there are no High Schools for girls in Assam at this distance of time, and girls who are anxious to secure English education have to go to Calcutta at considerable expense. Such a state of things must naturally retard the progress of women's education in Assam. It is high time that the Government and the public take steps to form the first High School for girls at the earliest opportunity."

Ninety years have rolled by, since the British have taken to their hands the reins of the government of Assam, and that within such a long period not a single high school has been opened for the education of the Assamese girls and only two Assamese ladies have graduated this year

from the Calcutta University do not really reflect any credit on the part of the Government or on the people.

### **Hindu Intercaste Marriage Validating Bill.**

Mr. Vithalbhai Jhaverbhai Patel's Bill for validating marriages between Hindus of different castes, is thoroughly sound in principle. It simply provides that marriages between Hindus of different castes shall be considered valid, notwithstanding any prevalent custom or interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary. It has many defects, inasmuch as it says nothing as to whether the parties to such marriages must not have any other wife or husband living, whether they must not be minors, &c. But such defects may be removed when the Bill is considered in select committee. In moving for leave to introduce the Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. Patel said in part :—

I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus of different castes are valid. Under the existing Hindu Law as interpreted in Courts of Law, parties to a Hindu marriage must be of the same caste, otherwise the marriage is invalid unless it is sanctioned by custom. Therefore suits by either party for restitution of conjugal rights or by the wife for maintenance or inheritance or by the children for inheritance, succession or possession are not maintainable. This interpretation, my Lord, entails serious hardships in individual cases, as I have stated in the objects and reasons. I shall only quote two instances in support of my statement.....

The first instance which he quoted was that of a Hindu lady who married out of her caste when she was sixteen, and lived with her husband for 25 years, and had eight children by her. She was then discarded by her husband. But even the High Court of Bombay could give her no relief, owing to the current interpretation of Hindu law and legal technicalities. After citing another case, Mr. Patel proceeded to observe:—

Apart from these hardships in individual cases, marriage forms the substratum of the whole order of civil life, and upon the contracting of the best possible marriages depends the happiness of home, the strength and self-respect of the people and the self-reliance and progress of the nation. All unnecessary obstacles to such marriages must have of course evil effects, and obstacles on the ground that the parties do not belong to the same caste, are detrimental in more ways than one. They seal up the compartments of caste. They maintain the process of continual inbreeding and generate defective, helpless and despondent progeny. The evils of child marriage and forlorn widowhood, of sales, purchases and exchanges



and even hires of girls to be temporary wives, are due to them, they perpetuate castes, some so small as containing eight persons, and they are responsible for incestuous marriages, polygamy where there is a superfluity of girls, and homeless immoral life where there is a dearth of girls. These and other evils act and react upon one another, and all evils are strengthened to multiply further evils.

The necessity for a change in the present law is felt in many quarters. The most orthodox even know how difficult it often becomes to find a suitable match for their daughters and sons within their caste, and how there are so many ill-matched unions resulting in violations of marital duties, miseries and social tragedies, how sisters and brothers compete to catch such a match for their children and quarrels arise between them and they become life-long enemies; how widowers and men of advanced age either marry little girls or remain unmarried and deviate from the paths of healthy moral life, the influence of which on their children and surroundings they do not think of or care for..... Sales, purchases, and exchanges of brides and compulsory dowries are disliked even by many of the orthodox of the caste; but they are helpless.....

Education, travel, contact in cities with people of other castes and such causes have widened the outlook of the younger generations whose ideas of marriage, home and life generally are broader, and they resent the evils I have mentioned; but they are helpless.

It may be that large castes are not so much affected by the present law as the small castes; but the number of large castes is small. In provinces like Gujarat from which I come, they are all small castes, and they are much affected by such a law. I say however that even if one province or one caste is affected, the law should not remain as it is.

I do not mean to assert that as soon as the requisite law is enacted, there will be nothing left to come in the way of suitable marriages.....

But the difficulties would then be such as private individuals might be expected to surmount.

Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi was the first to oppose even the introduction of the Bill. He is a pillar of the newly started National Liberal League. He made himself responsible for the view that the Bill "will make for disintegration, and is likely to act prejudicially to the best interests of society;" how, he did not explain. He uttered many other platitudes. But we are thankful to him for admitting that it was "a Bill which certain sections of the people at least think desirable and necessary for the well-being of the body-politic and the progress of the community."

Mr. B. D. Sukul spoke as an alarmist. He expressed the opinion that the Bill would introduce a radical change in Hindu law, (which is not true), and would breed disintegration in Hindu society. That is not our opinion. We think, on the contrary, that such a bill would make for

the conservation and solidarity of Hindu society; as many would be enabled by such a law to remain within its pale who might otherwise leave it. Mr. Sukul even dragged the War into the debate. He said the masses were furnishing recruits; nothing should be done to alarm them. His imagination ran riot so far that he was even reminded of the Sepoy Mutiny! He also quoted Sir Reginald Craddock's opinion as to the two conditions which social legislation must satisfy before having the support of Government. At a subsequent stage of the debate Mr. Srinivasa Sastri showed the unsoundness and untenableness of Sir Reginald's position.

Sir W. Vincent explained the position of Government, who were prepared to accept the motion for leave to introduce the Bill and to circulate it for the expression of public opinion.

Mr. G. S. Khaparde supported the introduction of the Bill. He clearly appeared to favour the inclusion in and keeping within the fold of Hinduism as many persons as possible. He did not at all view with apprehension the formation of new castes or subcastes as the result of inter-marriages. He seemed to be in too great a dread of fortune-hunters, and said that he intended to propose an amendment at the proper time excluding the children of such marriages from inheriting ancestral property! He forgot that Hindu converts to other faiths do not lose their right to ancestral property. He expressed the opinion that Mr. Patel's "proposal is not only not against the Hindu law, but in my humble judgment it really promotes the object of the Hindu law. The Hindu law does not like to drive anybody out of its fold."

Mr. Khaparde went on to observe:—

"It has been said that this Bill is inopportune and that we have got larger questions and ought not to deal with this. I humbly submit that this is the proper time. We have a maxim, 'He who seeks equity, must do equity.' If we seek for self-government and all these higher powers, I believe we should be prepared to grant them to our own people in a peaceful manner. Both from the point of view of expediency as well as from the point of view of the Hindu law as it really is and Hindu sentiment as it really obtains, I humbly submit that this Bill should be admitted."

Raja Sir Rampal Singh's opposition was based on grounds somewhat different from those of the other oppositionists. He frankly said that he himself did not believe in the caste system of the Hindus. He



believed that so long as Hindus remained caste-ridden they would not be able to advance in civilisation and occupy an exalted position among nations. He even admitted that "the Bill has the support of reason and logic." But he confessed that he conformed to caste rules; but that was to lead the masses gradually to the destined goal. This is a false philosophy of social progress which has been repeatedly propounded, and refuted again and again. History does not furnish any example of social progress effected without some person or persons leading the vanguard in actual practice and running the risk thereby of social obloquy, persecution or ostracism.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri said: "I rise to signify my consent to the introduction of this Bill." According to him the Sastras sanction *anuloma* and discountenance *pratiloma* marriages. In his opinion the kind of marriages sought to be validated by this Bill should be of a civil nature, the parties should be adults or not below a certain age, the marriages should be monogamous, and divorce would have to be introduced. He thought that the attitude of the Government towards reform movements was over-cautious. He rightly held that Sir Reginald Craddock's first condition of Government support to social legislation, namely, that an overwhelming majority of the people concerned should be in favour of it, was an impossible condition. He showed that the second condition for such support laid down by Sir Reginald, namely, that Government can be in favour of such legislation when there is an outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity, had not been observed in practice. As an example he said that the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 was not passed to obviate any outrage on the fundamental laws of humanity. He advised Mr. Patel to wait for the formation of the reconstituted council and introduce it there; but said that if he insisted on introducing it now, it had his support.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar opposed the introduction of the Bill. He said custom should precede law, but Mr. Patel was trying to reverse the process. The observation was true to some extent. But we should take cognisance of facts and not be led simply by abstract theories. Hindu society as at present constituted

tolerated the practice of illicit and disreputable connections between persons of different castes and even sects, but would not tolerate legitimate and honorable connections between such parties. Certain Hindu Maharajas and other persons of distinction or no distinction are publicly known to have even Musalman and Christian mistresses; but Hindu society does not ostracise or persecute them. It would however, ostracise persons who married outside their own castes, and the law as it stands would practically support such ostracism. Under the circumstances how can any custom grow with which respectable persons can have anything to do? We say *respectable* persons advisedly. For in Bengal, in the case of the Baishnab caste marriage between persons of different Hindu castes is a recognised custom. But the Baishnab caste is looked down upon, and a proverb says that one becomes a *Bostam* (Baishnab) when one loses caste, —*jat harale Bostam*. Considering all these circumstances, we think there should be a validating and permissive law recognising intercaste marriages. Mr. Ayyangar feared that Mr. Patel's Bill might lead on to a Bill validating inter-racial marriages. We say, why not? In these days, it is only men who are very ignorant of the past history of India who think that there have not been any *varna-sankars* and *jati-sankars* among Hindus. Hindu society has absorbed many foreign races and tribes, variously considered of Greek, Mongolian, Kolarian, Scythian, Persian, Hun and other stocks. There is not a single Hindu caste in India which has what is called "pure" blood. Pure blood is a myth in the science of anthropology. The existence, at present, among Hindus of hundreds of castes can be explained only on one of two suppositions: (1) that the existence at any time of only four Hindu castes was a myth; or (2) if there ever were only four Hindu castes, there must have been innumerable intercaste marriages to give rise to so many other castes.

Say what orthodox Hindus will, it is an infamous and outrageous arrangement which tolerates the presence in Hindu society of licentious scoundrels who degrade and dishonor and put the brand of infamy on women of their own caste or other castes or sects by forming illicit connections with them, but which will not tolerate a man who honours womanhood and



who would, therefore, if he loved a woman of a caste different from his own, form a lawful and honorable connection with her before thinking of having the joy and advantage of her company.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya thought that the general sense of the Hindu community would be opposed to the bill. He referred to what happened in the case of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's bill and thought that nothing had happened in the course of the last six years to make the introduction of another bill of the same sort expedient. But as Sir George Lowndes pointed out later on, the scope of Mr. Patel's bill was much narrower than that of Mr. Basu.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru accorded a cordial and warm support to the measure. He ridiculed the idea of Hindu society or Hindu religion being in danger in consequence of such a bill. There have been social laws passed before in respect of which also similar cries had been raised, but Hindu society still remains intact. Lawyers know how judicial interpretations have been practically changing Hindu law, and Hindu society has tolerated such interferences with Hindu law. Dr. Sapru scored a point when he said :

"But, my Lord, those who criticise this measure, I am afraid, entirely misunderstand the scope of the bill. It is not really an invasion upon orthodoxy. It is really meant for the protection of those who are not prepared to subscribe to all the conditions and tenets of orthodoxy. If orthodoxy is entitled to protection, so are those who do not subscribe to orthodoxy."

Dr. Sapru thought that the points raised by Mr. Sastri were side-issues. These can be settled in select committee.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said : "I am in very deep sympathy with the objects of the bill." But he was not in favour of throwing an apple of discord before the people at the present juncture. It would lead to agitation and controversy, it would lead to excitement : He counselled waiting for the reconstituted council, and opposed the introduction of the bill now. Generally it is the official classes who are more afraid or pretend to be more afraid of agitation or excitement than the leaders of the people. In the present case Government was not afraid, but Mr. Banerjea was.

And as Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who spoke next, observed, it was "an irony of fate that my friend Mr. Surendranath

Banerjea, who has been agitating for the last 40 years and more, should be so much afraid of agitation and unrest."

Mr. Jinnah proceeded to observe that personally he would go much further than Mr. Patel's bill. Liberty of conscience ought to be granted to individuals. Regarding the talk of requiring overwhelming majorities in favour of social enactments, he asked whether Government was guided by the sense of the majority in other matters. "And is the Government going to stand by and allow the majority to oppress the minority?" In the present case, Government was responsible for the growth of the minority.

Mr. B. N. Sarma said :—

"I am in hearty agreement with the principles underlying this bill." "A section of the educated community believes in the fundamental spiritual doctrines of Hinduism, but does not believe in the sacred character of the marriage laws as at present understood by the Hindus." "Are we to drive them out of the Hindu fold?" "Are we to compel them to say that they are not Hindus in order that they may contract a legal valid marriage?"

In Mr. Sarma's opinion radical alterations in the bill were needed. He counselled delay, and the introduction of the bill in the reformed councils.

Sir George Lowndes, Law Member, explained that Sir W. Vincent did not say that the fate of the bill would depend upon the majority of the opinions received. After pointing out the difference between Mr. Basu's bill and the present one, he proceeded to observe :

"In most cases where we are asked to legislate with regard to questions which touch the Hindu religion (and sometimes the Muhammadan religion), we are told that it is only going back to the old law, that we shall only be restoring the law of the ancient *shastras* which has been over-ridden by the Privy Council or by the Courts in India. That is the common argument. The curious thing is that this is the exact opposite of that position. So far as marriages between a Hindu man of one caste and a Hindu woman of a lower caste are concerned, they were allowed by the *shastras* in India during the whole of the best period of Hindu history. They were not only legal but they were recognised as such by every great writer on the subject....."

Mr. Malaviya.—That is not correct.

Sir G. L.—"I believe it is quite correct."

Mr. Malaviya—"For 3000 years it has not been so."

Sir G. L.—"My Hon'ble friend is very brave, and my Hon'ble friend Mr. Ayyangar was braver still, though I fancy with a very slight knowledge of the subject. He ventured to quote Manu as laying down that such marriages were improper. Now, Manu, as my Hon'ble friend ought to know, is probably a conglomeration of texts belonging to a great



number of different periods. I can point out to my Hon'ble friend Mr. Ayyangar and to the Hon'ble Pandit passages in *Manu* which directly recognise the legality of such marriages and the succession of property under them. It is not certain to what period the later texts belong, but they are clearly not of the same period as the others. *Manu*, it is true, contains one or two texts—to one of which the Hon'ble Mr. Ayyangar referred—disapproving of such marriages; but *Manu* is hardly an authority, as the work contains texts both ways.

But apart from *Manu*, take the Benares school of writers. I start with the *Mitakshara* and the *Mitakshara* recognises the legality of these marriages. That is somewhere about the 11th century. The doctrine goes on right down to *Mitra Misra*, one of the latest commentators in the beginning of the 17th century who also recognises their validity. Take the Southern India School. We have got exactly the same thing there. From the writers of the 13th century right down to the 17th century the validity of these mixed marriages is directly recognised. Take even the school of Bengal. Here we have the *Dayabhaga*, which was definitely, very definitely Brahministic, I had almost said a recrudescence of Brahminism,—the whole foundation of which which was the getting away from the secular views of the time,—even the *Dayabhaga* recognises the legality of these marriages. Therefore, I think, the council ought to understand that when we hear talk of the foundations of the Hindu religion being disturbed, it is not the foundations of the old Hindu religion, but the foundations of modern custom which has supplanted the old religion since the 16th century. And this, I submit, is a point of considerable relevance."

In conclusion Mr. Patel replied to some of the points raised in the course of the debate. He quoted from the preamble of the Kolhapur State law relating to inter-caste Hindu marriages, which stated that such marriages among Hindus and Jains generally were common in ancient times. Government granted leave to the mover to introduce the bill.

Laws permitting and validating inter-caste Hindu marriages have been passed in recent times, as far as we are aware, in three Indian States, *viz.*, Baroda, Indore and Kolhapur. In the independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal such marriages have been and are customary. In the British district of Darjeeling they are customary. These marriages in Nepal and Darjeeling are not civil or contractual; they are just as sacramental and respectable as marriages within caste limits.

The debate on the motion for leave to introduce the bill did not rise to a high level. It is rather humiliating to find a distinguished Hindu leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya subjected to correction on points of ancient Hindu history, law and custom by one who is neither an Indian nor a Hindu.

As mentioned above, the bill is defective in several respects. We shall refer to one which we have already mentioned. Whatever old social systems or social codes may have sanctioned, modern social legislation must proceed on the basis of equal justice to both man and woman and of the equal social rights of man and woman. Hence monogamy should be the ideal of all social legislation. For this reason Mr. Patel's bill should be so amended as to provide that inter-caste Hindu marriages would be valid only when the parties contracting such marriages had no wife or husband living; or, in other words, the parties should be either bachelors or spinsters, or widows or widowers. Intercaste marriages would for some times to come expose the parties to social or family persecution. A weak husband might feel inclined to yield to such persecution discard the wife of a different caste from his own whom he had married and make up with his community and family by marrying another wife, belonging to his own caste. If such a practice were made penal, it would act as a deterrent on would-be backsliders.

Similarly, intercaste marriages should be adult marriages. The parties should contract such marriages, understanding their full social and other consequences. No parent or guardian has the moral right to subject his male or female ward to the consequences of such a marriage at an age when the bride or the bridegroom is not in a position to fully realise what they may be.

Those who are inclined to oppose the bill should understand that it is only a validating bill. It does not compel anybody to contract an intercaste marriage; nor does it compel anybody to socially recognise such a marriage and have social intercourse or social dealings with the parties to such a marriage.

Such a law is required for the solidarity of Hindus. The fusion of castes and sub-castes cannot be promoted in any other way. And unless the numerous castes and sub-castes of Hindus are gradually unified, the Hindu community cannot become a compact part of the Indian nation.

Apart from such considerations, it is a mere matter of the primary freedom of the individual in a civilised State and community that he should be fully at liberty to do what is neither immoral nor criminal, so



long as he does not interfere with the equal and similar liberty of others. An inter-caste marriage is neither immoral nor criminal. If it were, some of the most revered characters in Hindu history, literature and mythology must cease to be respected.

The mental constitution of man is not made up of a number of separate "water-tight" compartments. There is interaction and inter-relation among all spheres of thought and action. Hence, man will be in politics what he is socially; and he will be socially what he is as a political animal. The majority of educated Indians of all sects want some kind of political freedom for the individual and the nation. That is to say, we want that we should be in political matters masters of ourselves. This cry of self-rule has been raised in consequence in the spheres of finance, industry, commerce and education, too. It is only in social affairs that a large section of our countrymen think that the individual should have no liberty, and that he must prostrate himself before custom like a slave even when he felt that it was tyrannous. This section of our countrymen ought to know that those who are socially *un-free*, would be unable to maintain their political freedom and exercise the rights of free men and enjoy its blessings, even if political freedom were thrust upon them. Looking at the matter from another angle, these countrymen of ours must rest assured that men would not be satisfied with mere political, fiscal, economic, industrial, or educational freedom; they would have social and religious freedom, too. If you teach men to question the authority, the wisdom, the justice, and the right of the bureaucracy or of the foreign exploiter or educator, you must be prepared to see them questioning the wisdom and the justice said to underlie the present-day social customs, too. Nay, people will not stop short there. They will question the authority of the scriptures, too, and assert the supreme right of the human soul to be the final judge and master in all matters.

We home-rulers are fond of citing the authority of John Stuart Mill. In his *Representative Government* he discusses the theory that "the strongest power in society will make itself strongest in the government," and admits that "there is a portion of truth in this doctrine"; though he adds that "to make it of any use, it must be

reduced to a distinct expression and proper limits." He discusses it in the last three paragraphs of the first chapter of his book. And his summing up is given in the very last two sentences of the chapter, which are quoted below.

"When, therefore, the instructed in general can be brought to recognise one social arrangement, or political or other institution, as good, and another as bad, one as desirable, another as condemnable, very much has been done towards giving to the one, or withdrawing from the other, that preponderance of social force which enables it to subsist. And the maxim, that the government of a country is what the social forces in existence compel it to be, is true only in the sense in which it favours, instead of discouraging, the attempt to exercise, among all forms of government practicable in the existing condition of society, a rational choice."

Mill no doubt discussed the maxim primarily as it was applicable to political institutions. But it is permissible to deduce from what he has written that those who are fit to exercise a rational choice among all practicable forms of government are also fit to exercise a rational choice among all practicable social institutions. In any case, there can be no question that true advocates of human freedom ought to "favour the attempt to exercise" "a rational choice" among both political and social institutions of various kinds.

The belief in the political equality of all castes underlying the demand of self-rule, implies that even a man of an "inferior" caste may be as wise, as unselfish, as public-spirited, as honest and incorruptible as a man of a "superior" caste. If that be so, is it rational to think that for purposes of marriage and other social purposes a man or a woman belonging to an "inferior" caste must be necessarily worse than a man or a woman of a "superior" caste, irrespective of physical, moral or intellectual qualifications? That some men and women of "inferior" castes are often equal or superior to some men and women of "superior" castes in point of physical fitness and beauty, is undeniable. That a similar equality exists as regards mental, moral and spiritual worth cannot but be admitted. Wealth and worldly position are also not the monopoly of any particular castes. The objection to intercaste marriages must therefore rest on grounds other than physical, moral, material, intellectual, and spiritual. The peculiar sanctity or "impurity" of any man or woman merely because of his birth cannot be maintained.

Hindus claim that they eat religiously,



bathe religiously, travel religiously, marry religiously, die religiously, &c.; in fact, that everything that they do is connected with religion. We admit that this was and is true of many Hindus. The struggle to be politically free is, then, in the last resort, a religious endeavour with true Hindus. From the objections of some Hindu leaders to intercaste marriages, we must conclude that the struggle to be socially free is for Hindus an *ir*-religious endeavour. Therefore, to seek to be free is both a virtue and a sin!

Whatever view we take of Mr. Patel's bill, we should be particularly careful that it does not prove a veritable apple of discord, as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea apprehended it might. It is impossible that men's views should be similar or identical in all matters, religious, social, political, economic, &c. We should work together in those matters in which we agree. Our differences in other matters ought not in the least to stand in the way of our co-operation in those in which we agree.

### Importance of Archaeology and the Duty of our Publicists.

National vigilance should be directed to the work and working of the Department of Archaeology. *The Bombay Chronicle* recently remarked :

"Few realise the true importance of the science which collects, classifies and interprets all the evidence of a nation's activities in the past.....The relation of Archaeology to history, its aid to the nation's architecture, arts and crafts and its place in the scheme of national education thus remain unrecognised. India, specially, cannot dispense with the aid of archaeology."

Our publicists ought to study the expenditure on archaeology in this country, the *personnel* of the department and the work alleged to have been done by it each year. The indifference of the public makes the Department immune; its affairs pass unchallenged.

It appears to be part of the settled policy of the Archaeological Department to import men from continental obscurity and set them up as authorities on India's Past. To be such authorities it is not necessary to be conversant with any Indian classical language and literature. The present head of the Archaeological Department, for instance, is not an expert in the Sanskrit, Pali or Persian literature of this country. He did not know a word of any Indian language when he was

appointed to the headship of the Department, although he came to preside over a department whose daily business is to deal with inscriptions and other ancient records of the country. Prof. Bendall publicly protested against the appointment in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, reported in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of Oct. 30th, 1903. The officers of the Department devote special attention to finding out foreign origins of Indian civilization. The theory, for instance, of Dr. Spooner, of the Persian origin of Chandragupta, Pataliputra, Buddha, Chanakya and the Nandas which proved too much even for "Orientalists" (one of them characterising it as "puerile"), was given high praise by the present Director General of Archaeology in his letter read out at Dr. Spooner's Simla lecture. In Sir John Marshall's Annual Report, Part I, of the Archaeological Survey of India, recently published, he is more cautious. There Sir John observes :—

"I may be permitted to state, in order to remove a misconception that appears to have arisen in the point, that Dr. Spooner's views are personal to himself and in no way represent the official views of the Archaeological Department. So far as monumental evidence from Pataliputra is concerned, it seems to me to confirm what had already been deduced from previous finds of the Maurya epoch, namely : that the art of that period was subject to strong Persian or Perso-Greek influence; and that a close intercourse must have existed in those days between India and Iran. But, for my own part, I see no reason to infer that these discoveries connote the religious, social or political dependence of the former country on the latter."

But as the author of the discredited theory is inducted again and again into the Director-General's chair on every slight occasion when a temporary vacancy arises, that, one may presume, is a surer criterion of what the Department thinks of his work and worth.

Competent art critics have condemned the work of the department on several occasions. Not much artistic judgment is evidenced in the reports and the major portion of the energy apparently is spent up in matters like proving the Italian origin of the Taj and the Parsi nationality of Chandragupta and receiving congratulations from politicians of the type of Chirol.

The Government of India admitted by their resolution of 22nd October 1915 that employment of Indians in archaeological work was of "great importance". But who was appointed in place of the



late Government of India Epigraphist Mr. Venkayya? Not an Indian; but Dr. Thomas, librarian of the India Office. Dr. Vogel is believed to be manufacturing an epigraphist for India in Holland!

The work of editing Asoka's inscriptions for the Department according to the current policy would necessarily be given to some one in Europe, while there are as good scholars (if not better) in this country as elsewhere, on the subject. The department excludes Indians as much as possible and when an occasion arises the department practically says that Indians have done nothing, that it is against their genius to take interest in history, &c. This was said with a lot of abuse by Dr. Vogel only a few years back when Sir Harcourt Butler had called a conference of orientalist at Simla. Dr. Vogel was officiating as Director General at the time.

The Department needs a thorough overhauling and weeding out of incompetency. It must be placed under Indian control, as even Mr. Curtis suggested, without much delay. It must cease to be the hunting ground of international pretenders to Indian learning. It should be one of the "transferred" subjects. A commission with a non-official majority should be appointed to recommend a reorganisation of the department. The present system has worked since 1902 with no satisfactory results.

X.

**"Resolution re Financial assistance in respect of the cost of the military forces raised, or to be raised, in India."**

We have copied the above heading from the *Gazette of India*, dated September 21 1918.

The resolution was moved by Sir William Meyer, Finance Member. He said: "We want to leave the decision thereon to the non-official Members on behalf of the much larger public in India to whom we desire to appeal." While the non-official members are to a small extent representative of the public, their votes can under no circumstances be said to echo public feeling in the country. The electorates which elected them were very small and were themselves not truly representative of the people. Still, if the Government wanted to treat the votes of the non-official members as representing public opinion, Sir William Meyer's resolution ought to have been moved a fortnight after publication,

so that those non-official members who wanted to vote according to public opinion might have an opportunity of observing the trend of that opinion. The framing of the resolution as well as its consideration ought also to have been left entirely to them, the choice of a president being left to them. As a matter of fact, the matter was not really and entirely left to the decision of the non-official members. The Viceroy presided, official members took part in the discussion, the Finance Member framed the resolution, and he made two or three speeches on it, which strictly speaking ought to have been confined to explaining the needs of the situation and to the means which he wanted to adopt to raise money. But he brought in "love and loyalty", and also an argument, anything similar to which in the mouth of a non-official would have been characterised as huckstering. Let us quote from his speeches.

"I accept the statement of the Hon. Member who said it was trifling compared with what England is paying for the war; but I say it is anything but trifling as an example of India's loyalty and devotion."

He had also said previously, "as I pointed out yesterday, if this contribution were not made, it would not affect the war. England would pay." So, it was not a matter of extreme urgency that India should make this additional payment. It was wanted only, to use Sir William's words, as, "a further proof of our solidarity with Great Britain, of our love for the Empire, of our determination to do what we can to see this war through." From the speeches made on various occasions by many high officers of the Crown from the Premier downwards, and paragraph 20 of the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report* on India's loyalty, one might have thought that India had already given sufficient proof of her loyalty, devotion and love to satisfy them completely. But one never knows. India must go on giving fresh proofs of loyalty, as often as she is called upon to do so, even at the risk of bankruptcy, and even though her children have to do without sufficient food, sufficient clothing, sufficient medical help and sanitation, and sufficient schooling.

However, considering how meagre the safeguards of personal liberty in India are, how powerful and irresponsible the executive and the police have been made by



various regulations, ordinances and Acts, what uses are made both of our "loyalty" and our "disloyalty", how when we are considered loyal it is argued that the people are thoroughly satisfied with the present form of government and no change is necessary, and how when we are deemed disloyal it is argued that such traitors as we deserve no concession but only "martial law, Sir, and no d—d nonsense,"—considering all these circumstances Indians may be excused if they are somewhat unnerved and lose the balance of their judgment whenever anything is made a matter of loyalty or disloyalty.

It is not once that Sir William brought in the "love and loyalty" argument. Rising after Mr. B. N. Sarma, he had also said :—

"I also of course reject the plea that it does not matter if we cut down the contribution, because in any case England can and will pay. If this Resolution is rejected, it will make a great difference to the feelings with which India is regarded in England. I say, even though your contribution is small as compared with England's outlay, still it is a proof of love and loyalty. It is like the gifts which children make out of their little savings, valuable for the self-denial and love which have called them forth.

It was, therefore, not without reason that Messrs. Malaviya and Sastri said what they did. Mr. Sastri observed :

In speaking to the Resolution as I propose to amend it, I wish at the outset to say that Government in bringing this Resolution forward have placed non-official Members on the horns of a cruel dilemma. If we accept the Resolution, while we shall be declaring our loyalty to the Empire, we shall at the same time be handicapping the responsible government which is to be inaugurated and which is to undertake the expansion of education and sanitation and other things on a large scale. If, on the other hand, we reject the Resolution we shall, I fear, be causing an aspersion on our own loyalty which will be entirely unjustified and unfounded, and at the same time inviting risks to the political future of India which we have so much at heart.

Mr. Malaviya said :

I wonder, my Lord, if any disinterested person will regard this as a fair way of consulting and carrying the non-official Members of this Council with the Government. By adopting the procedure your Government have adopted, you have placed us in a position of great disadvantage. We must either swallow the proposal and become responsible for a large additional burden and fresh taxation being imposed upon the country, or we must expose ourselves to the risk of our opponents, and unfortunately they are neither few nor unimportant, making political capital in England by saying that Indian representatives had withheld the further aid which the Government of India desired to tender to His Majesty's Government at this crisis. He will be a bold man who will say that the vote of the non-official Members on the Resolu-

tion will, in these circumstances, be an altogether free vote. I yet hope, however, that my colleagues will try to act according to the dictates of the small voice within, which after all is the last anchor that holds.

Sir William Meyer suggested something like a bargain, too, when he concluded his first speech by expressing confidence

"that they [ the non-official members ] will also feel that when India is legitimately claiming larger political freedom and a higher Imperial status, she must likewise be prepared to assume a larger share of the burdens required by the safety and interests of the Empire, with which her own safety and welfare are so closely intertwined."

When agitators for Indian self-rule were understood (rightly or wrongly, it is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss ) to say : "Give us our rights first, and then we will help," such an attitude was characterised as huckstering, bargaining, &c. But when the finance member says conversely, "As you claim political freedom and a higher Imperial status, be ready to pay the price thereof in advance," it is neither bargaining, nor huckstering, but only high statesmanship. To us it seems that if the affair is to be looked at as a politically commercial transaction, the difference between the agitators' and the bureaucrats' attitude is this, that the bureaucrats want payment in advance and the agitators have been understood to promise payment on delivery or by V. P. P. The two parties to the bargain, it seems, do not have faith or confidence in each others' capacity, promises and intentions. It would be futile to discuss the causes of such mutual distrust. The officials can speak for themselves if they choose. The non-officials (supported by what Lord Lytton once wrote) think there have been failures, on the part of the officials, to carry out promises. Whatever may have happened in the past, there ought not to be any doubt about India gaining "political freedom" and "a higher Imperial status" in the near future. But there seem to be some doubts. For in the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Indian Reforms, Mr. Charles Roberts, who formed part of Mr. Montagu's mission to India, is reported to have said :—

The unanimity of the debate was in a sense misleading. It must not be forgotten that the Secretary of India had not so far, the Government behind him. The Government had not yet accepted the Report, though there was some encouragement in the fact that they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration of last August. He suggested that



the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the reforms, together with certain hostile voices which had been raised, constituted a real danger signal to impatient idealists who were not content with the rate of progress proposed.

We need not say more on huckstering.

European officials and non-officials cannot help thinking of what the Dominions and India have done respectively. We do not think India suffers by the comparison. But the comparison itself is unjustifiable and improper. India would not at all be to blame if she had done less. Supposing India had done less than the Dominions, would it not show an unscrupulous and grasping nature to expect India to do what the Dominions had done, simply because India *only claimed* what the Dominions *had already got*, viz., political freedom and a high Imperial status?

#### Sir G. Lowndes' Speech on Sir W. Meyer's Resolution.

We have said that the resolution was not really and entirely left to the decision of the non-official members. No doubt, it is only they who voted. But official members were at liberty to and did take part in the discussion. The Finance Member wanted to persuade the non-official members to vote in the way the Government desired by various means, including sarcasm. On the other hand, Sir G. Lowndes, the Law Member, tried to bully the unfortunate non-official members. We have already had something to say on that part of his speech which suggested that India was not so poor after all. But India's great poverty is admitted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and in the course of the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Indian Reforms Mr. Montagu said:

"It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India, of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources, and that contributions to [war] loans of this kind could only be made, not by denying luxuries, but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries."

We will therefore pass on to some other points in Sir G. Lowndes's wonderful performance.

#### "Helping England."

Sir G. Lowndes said:—

"My Hon'ble friend Pandit Malaviya spoke of India 'helping England.' Is that again the sentiment in which we are going to vote on this Resolu-

tion today? 'Helping England!' What we are asking India to do today is to take her share in the great burden of the Empire and not to help England. We are not here as a Government to beg for England. We are merely to point out to India her opportunity."

But in page after page of the *Gazette of India*, dated September 21, 1918, published by the Government of India, Sir William Meyer's resolution is called "Resolution *re* financial assistance in respect of the cost of the military forces raised, or to be raised, in India." We suppose assistance is somewhat like help and that when India's contribution has been officially called "assistance," there is some party who or which receives that assistance. It is for Sir G. Lowndes to name that party.

Sir George exclaimed, "We are not here as a Government to beg for England." Who called the Government beggars? Every one knows begging is not the only recognised political means of getting money.

It is easy to insult India as a beggar-woman. But the high and mighty need not forget that the proud position of England is not without connection with the humble position of India.

#### "The Navy Fighting for India."

Sir G. Lowndes asked:—

"Without it [the Navy] where would India's prosperity and India's wealth be today? Is not the Navy fighting for India as much as for any other part of the Empire?"

India's prosperity indeed!

We appeal to Sir George not to make our burden of gratitude too heavy for us to bear. India and Indians have been treated up till now as the property of Great Britain, and may continue to be so treated for an indefinite period to come. It is just possible that the British Navy has had to perform the duty of defending and protecting the British property called India. The Property no doubt ought to feel duly grateful for the benefit of protection incidentally received. But in order to make our burden of gratitude bearable we may be allowed to remind ourselves that the property-holder has not given India any chance to have her own navy, and that, as on the one hand the British Navy has guarded India, so on the other the Indian Army has for generations fought the Empire's battles in and outside India and saved the situation in France in the first stage of this war and conquered



Mesopotamia and East Africa for Great Britain. Might not one, therefore, very humbly and very timidly ask, "But for India, *what* and where would the British Empire be to-day?"

### Ridiculous Pretensions.

There is no harm in officials claiming to be "jealous for the future reputation of India." They may do so sincerely. They may also claim to "know and love" India or parts of India. But it is ridiculous nonsense for any official to suggest that he knows or loves India better than certain well-known representatives of the people or that he is more jealous for her reputation than they, as Sir George Lowndes did in his speech on the war "financial assistance" resolution.

### "First Touch of Responsibility."

Sir George Lowndes accused Mr. V. J. Patel of shrinking "from this, almost the first touch of responsibility that has been laid on the Hon'ble Members." It is a curious notion of responsibility which these officials have. India was not responsible for the declaration of war; for she was not, and, as her constitution stands, could not be consulted before such declaration. India's responsibility was only for payment. When peace negotiations begin, far from the duly elected representatives of India being consulted, even the Government of India may not have their say. For in his speech at the Ministry of Information dinner on July 13 last, the Prime Minister addressed himself solely to the Dominions, and was, as *India* puts it, strangely silent as to India's part. He said:—

Henceforth you have a right to be consulted as to the policy beforehand; and that is the change which has been effected as a result of the war. The contributions which you have made to enforce these treaties have given you an undeniable right to a voice in fashioning the policy which may commit you; for this reason the Imperial War Cabinet is a reality.

He continued:—

I have no doubt that in the course of the next few weeks Canada and Australia and New Zealand—yea, and Newfoundland, they have all contributed their share of sacrifice, and they are entitled to an equal voice with the representatives of these islands—will determine the conditions under which we are prepared to make peace. Unless I am mistaken, we are pretty well in agreement upon them. Another point which you must have a voice in is the settlement of the conditions of peace. We have discussed war aims, and the conditions under which we are prepared to make

peace. At the War Cabinet we arrived at an agreement upon the subject last year with the representatives of the Dominions, and we shall reconsider the same problems in the light of events which have occurred since, and then we shall reconsider the whole of these problems.

"Where does India come in?" asks *India*. Our answer is, "When Sir George Lowndes demands that she should be responsible for payment."

Again, India has no responsibility as to how the money to be derived from her is to be raised and is to be spent. Sir George Lowndes and his colleagues will save her all that trouble and raise and spend the money for her.

Bearing in mind all these circumstances one may be pardoned for suggesting that the Law Member's theory of responsibility is defective, though possibly only to an infinitesimal extent.

### "A Great Daughter of this Empire."

In one passage of his speech the Law Member referred to India as "a grown up daughter of the Empire," in another as "a great daughter of this Empire." The truth is, India is not a daughter of the British Empire either from our point of view or from the point of view of the European rulers of India.

Let us say first what our point of view is. The population of India is not derived from Great Britain, as the white populations of most of the Dominions are. The languages and literatures of India are not derived from Great Britain. The most prevalent religions of India are not derived from Great Britain. There are, it is true, some Christians in India; but Christianity is not a British religion, and the majority of Indian Christians are descended from those who became Christians before the British set foot on India. Indian civilisation is of older date than the civilisation of Great Britain and is not derived from the latter. British civilisation has touched only a fringe of the population. Out of the total population of India consisting of 315 millions only one million and six hundred and seventy thousand are literate in English. Those who are literate in the vernaculars may be argued to have been indirectly affected by British civilisation; but even their number is a little more than eighteen and a half millions. India has not derived any wealth from Great Britain. The shipping is practically en-



tirely non-Indian. India has no mercantile marine or navy of her own. The railways are practically non-Indian concerns. The large manufacturing concerns, except in the Bombay Presidency, are practically non-Indian. The system of administration is un-British, and carried on by non-Indians.

In what respect then is India a daughter of the Empire?

From the point of view of the British rulers of India, too, she is not a daughter of the Empire. She has not got the political freedom and the high Imperial status of those real daughters of the Empire, the self-governing Dominions. What is India's place in the household? Far from being welcomed by the Dominions, are India's children even given the right of free entry into Canada, South Africa and Australia? Has any real daughter of the Empire ever furnished slaves euphemistically called indentured labourers? What then is the value of the hypocritical flattery implied in calling India a daughter of the Empire? It is simply adding insult to injury. No official should have recourse to such tricks simply to make non-official members vote money. If any official wants India to be a daughter, or a sister, or a partner in the Empire, he must be prepared for the fulfilment by Great Britain of certain conditions. Some of these may be stated in the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who wrote in a letter on "The Causes of Discontent in India" addressed to Lord Welby, dated 31st January, 1897:

"Indians are repeatedly told, and in this commission several times that Indians are partners in the British Empire and must share the burdens of the Empire. Then, I propose a simple test. For instance supposing that the expenditure of the total navy of the Empire is, say £20,000,000, and as partners in the Empire you ask British India to pay £10,000,000, more or less, British India as partner, would be ready to pay, and therefore, as partner, must have her share in the employment of British Indians and in every other benefit of the service to the extent of her contribution. Take the Army. Suppose the expenditure of the total Army of the British Empire is, say £40,000,000. Now you may ask £20,000,000, or more or less, to be contributed by British India. Then as partners, India must claim and must have every employment and every benefit of that service to the extent of her contribution. If, on the other hand, you force the helpless and voiceless British India to pay, but not to receive a return to the extent of the payment, then your treatment is the unrighteous wicked treatment of the slave-master over British India as a slave. In short, if British India is to be treated as a partner in the Empire, it must follow that to whatever extent (be it a farthing or a hundred millions) British India con-

tributes to the expenses of any department, to that extent British India must have a share in the services and benefits of that department—whether civil, military, naval or other: then only will British India be the 'integral part' or partner in the Empire. 'If there be honour and righteousness on the side of the British, then this is the right solution' of the rights and duties of British India."—Quoted by "Anti-Humburg" in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

In future, if India is able to win true partnership in the Empire, she may be rightly styled a sister nation among other sister nations in the Empire. Then on account of her vast population, her wide extent of territory, her inexhaustible resources, and her ancient civilisation, the world may accord her the place of an elder sister in the commonwealth of nations comprised in the British federation. The mere possession by her of Western political institutions or Western manufacturing and mercantile methods would not make her a daughter to anybody. Japan has these: but whose daughter is she called?

Of the speeches in the debate, those of Mr. B. N. Sarma and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya seem to us the best.

### The Special Congress and Moslem League Sessions.

The special sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League were highly successful.

Particularly noteworthy was the resolution on the Declaration of Rights passed unanimously by both the Congress and the Moslem League.

We certainly want

That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British Citizens:—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in the Dominion whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature;

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association, free speech or in respect of writing, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial.

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms,.....as in great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice;

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper;

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

The Congress also did well to pass by a majority a resolution to the effect that "women, possessing the same qualifica-



tions as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex."

With regard to the Reform Scheme the Congress recognised "that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions," but expressed the opinion that as a whole the proposals are "disappointing and unsatisfactory." The Moslem League in effect said the same thing; only it said that the recommendations as a whole are unsatisfactory, not adding the word "disappointing." Perhaps the Moslem League did not entertain any hopes and were therefore not disappointed; or it may have been a mere matter of chance that the word "disappointing" occurred in the Congress resolution and did not in that of the Moslem League. Our own feelings are such that we would not say that we had been disappointed, for we did not and do not cherish any definite hopes. We think it is a wise thing which the Sanskrit proverb says—

"आशा हि परम दुःखं नैराशा परम सुखम् ।"

"Hope is the greatest of miseries, and the cherishing of no hope is the highest happiness."

### "Self-determination."

We learn from *India* that in a review of Mr. H. G. Wells' latest book, Mr. Maurice Hewlett, the well-known writer, who is a new recruit to the Labour Party, says :

I look forward to the day when Great Britain shall accept the root-idea of self-determination, with all its implications. It is my hope that we shall give up Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar. I hope that India and Egypt will cease to be domains, and will federate with us, as Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have federated. If they cannot do that, if they prefer to federate elsewhere, or to stand alone, I don't see how we can lawfully prevent them. I hope and believe that we shall not attempt it. I do not presume to speak for the Labour Party, but I should not be so sincere a member of it as I am, did I not believe that its aim was self-determination all the world over.

There spoke a true freedom-loving man.

### Excess Profits Tax.

The Government of India have decided to levy an excess profits tax, but not this year, it appears; and when the war is over, as it is likely to be in 1920 at the latest, there will be no excess profits tax. So those who have obtained these profits will be assessed after they have made their

piles for about 5 years, and they will have to pay the tax for a year or two. So their representatives need not boast of their preparedness for sacrifice and all other nonsense of that sort. The real sacrifice—and it is a vicarious sacrifice,—has been undergone by humbler people, like the jute-growers, who have helped to make others rich, but have been themselves exposed to great distress owing to the high prices of cloth, food stuffs, &c. So, if the excess profits tax had been utilised on "such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries," (to quote Mr. Montagu), that would have been the most equitable course. But the war profits tax will go towards making a fresh contribution to war expenditure, in spite of the admitted fact that England is quite able to pay these additional 45 millions of pounds; India is required to pay only as a fresh proof of her love, devotion and loyalty to the Empire. Officials like Sir G. Lowndes may wax sarcastic; but even if the war were for the sole benefit and protection of India, which it is not, there would not have been any injustice if England had paid all the expenses of defending India. For the Indian Empire had been acquired solely at India's expense, and India had also fought outside her own borders for the benefit of England for generations. Moreover, the British people have grown immensely rich owing to England's connection with India, at first by commerce and by loot after victory, &c., and afterwards by industries and commerce and by manning the military and civil services. Where then would have been the injustice, if out of the thousands of millions which the British nation has obtained from India, they had paid 45 millions of pounds?

India undoubtedly expects to gain by the victory of the Allies. But the benefits expected to be reaped by the British people and the other white inhabitants of the British Empire would certainly be immeasurably greater than any benefits that might accrue to India. Under the circumstances, considering what India has already done and considering also the poverty and "vital necessities" of her people, it would certainly have been noble and just of England to have refrained from demanding fresh financial assistance,—particularly as at the time of the "free gift" of 100 millions sterling, it was spoken of



by Government as the ultimate total special contribution to the war.

### "Worthless Sycophants."

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has written in the *Awakening of India* (p. 158, popular edition) :

"Some of the most worthless sycophants in India are to be found amongst the Indian aristocracy who have seats on the councils and hang round Viceregal lodges and Government houses."

It would be difficult to prove that all aristocrats were sycophants, some of them are not. But those of them who are, are, according to many high European officials, natural leaders of men, a fact which Mr. Macdonald ought to have noted.

### Bengal Advisory Committee's Memorandum.

The Advisory Committee, appointed by the Bengal Government, consisting of Mr. Justice Beachcroft and Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, to advise the Governor in Council in respect of the cases of those persons now under restraint, or who, during the sittings of the Committee, may be placed under restraint, either under the provisions of the Defence of India Act (Act IV of 1915); the Ingress into India Ordinance (V of 1914) (to the extent that the persons so dealt with belong to the province of Bengal); or Regulation III of 1818, whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that they had acted, were acting or were about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India," have submitted their memorandum. The procedure laid down for them was as follows:—

The proceedings of the Committee will be held in camera and no Counsel will be permitted to appear. The papers of each case will be placed before the Committee by an officer deputed by Local Government in the grouping essential to the proper understanding of them and in the manner best calculated to effect that end. Should the Committee desire further information the request will be dealt with by the Local Government to the best of their ability.

With regard to this Committee the *Pioneer* and other papers of the same sort and some officials require reminding that the Committee was appointed at the suggestion of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, that it was not composed in the way even he desired, that the procedure laid down for it was different in some essential respects from what he wanted, that a very important section of the press and the

public, perhaps constituting a majority, protested against the appointment of such a committee and expressed the fear that its results would be unsatisfactory, that it was constituted in spite of these protests, and that it was supported, subject to some mild qualifications, mainly by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and some men of his party. It is also to be noted that up to the time of this writing (September 27), Mr. Banerjea's paper the *Bengalee* has written nothing on the committee's memorandum, though it was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th September.

The total number of cases examined and advised on by the committee was 806. In 6 of the total number of cases they have advised Government that there are not sufficient grounds, in their opinion, for believing that the parties concerned have acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of India, and that, therefore, they should be unconditionally released. In the rest we have advised that the parties have, in our opinion, so acted." The committee have not, therefore, suggested anything which lies between immediate and unconditional release and detention for an indefinite period. But they have gone out of their way, (we say so because it was not within their terms of reference), to pronounce an encomium on the Rowlatt Committee's Report. (It is not a matter for surprise that the conclusions of the two committees agree, for the material before them and the procedure adopted were practically the same.) That, however, is a small matter in itself. The reason why we mention it at all is that in the Rowlatt Committee's Report, the revolutionaries are divided into various classes according to the degree and extent of their guilt or complicity, and different methods of administratively dealing with them have been suggested. The Chandavarkar committee's memorandum, on the other hand, would lead one to suppose that there was no shade between black and white. As they mention the Rowlatt Committee's Report they ought also to have suggested, as the former has done, that different classes of revolutionaries required to be dealt with in different ways.

Let us quote what the Rowlatt Committee have said :—

"195.....our function is to suggest a scheme of law, not of administration.



Nevertheless, in as much as we have necessarily gathered something of the psychology of these offenders in the course of our inquiry and as these impressions have necessarily guided us in reaching our conclusions, we think we may indicate generally the lines on which we have contemplated that they may be worked out administratively. These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influence of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. [So in the Committee's opinion only some are desperadoes. Ed. M. R.] Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.

"190. The scheme above set forth is, as has already been pointed out, designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

"There are, however, a limited class of persons, namely, those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for their case.

"In the first place, there are a number of persons still at large such as Rashi Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who, if tried at all, ought to be tried, even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires, under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand, it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

"Secondly there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

"Some, if not most of these persons, are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which five involve further murders. There are others like him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organisers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1918. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

"Assuming, however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

"Lastly, it may be that a few of those now merely interned and some of the convicts who will be re-

leased may require some control. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually."

The italics are ours.

We are glad that as the result of the labours of the Committee at least 6 men may get released. The innocence of this small number of men also establishes the surprising fact that the C. I. D. may be fallible in some cases. But taking the committee's conclusion to be correct, we may venture timidly to suggest that the possible maximum proportion of innocent men among those deprived of their liberty at the instance of the police is not .75 or three-fourth per cent. It should be remembered that 806 is not the total number of men who have been deprived of their liberty after the passing of the Defence of India Act up to the commencement of the sittings of the committee. There has been a continuous stream of arrests, internments and releases. 806 is only the residue remaining after the release by the Government of those *detenus* whom they considered innocent or practically innocent. Nobody knows the exact total number of those who had been at one time or other deprived of their liberty;—a question in council may elicit the figure. Our impression is that the total number would not be less than fifteen or sixteen hundred, if not more. It is only out of such a total number that the committee's inquiry adjudges 800 to have been guilty. If our conjecture be correct, some 50 per cent. were innocent.

We are not disposed to attach great importance to the fact that only 167 out of 806 men submitted a written representation. The remainder probably, like a large section of the press and the public, had grave doubts whether under the procedure laid down by Government the committee's labours would afford them any relief, and so they refrained from submitting any representations. Some, being inexperienced young men, possibly could not write out a presentable representation in the absence of help from lawyers, guardians or other advisers.

The committee mention that only 18 out of 168 who had confessed retracted their confession. As the 18 retractors have not evidently gained thereby, the



remaining 150 had perhaps wisely anticipated the result of retraction!

The committee say that "the representations in some, though but a very few cases, use strong language and allege ill-treatment and torture." They also say, "In only ten cases in all are there allegations of torture—seven of these are from the Presidency and the rest from the Alipur Jail." It is possible to draw a wrong conclusion from the fact that so few complained of torture or ill-treatment. In the first place, there was the ever-present fear of the police and the jail officials; few would naturally complain until they felt they were beyond the power of these persons. In the second place, in the letter addressed by the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Superintendents of Jails for the information of the accused, it was distinctly said that "any representation outside this [viz., the conditions] will be discarded as irrelevant;" among the conditions was "(c) That it [the representation] is confined to the merits of the case." We do not know how many representations, if any, were discarded as irrelevant on this ground. The letter addressed to the *detenus* by Superintendents of Police was still more explicit. Besides laying down the condition "that it [the representation] is confined to the merits of the case against you," the letter explicitly says: "Representations regarding such matters as the treatment you are receiving while in detention or requests for transfer to a home domicile or release will not be considered,.....". Under the circumstances, it is quite easy to understand that most of those who may have been subjected to torture, may not have complained of it.

Regarding the small number of the representations, we have some other observations to make. What is meant by "the merits of the case?" Eminent lawyers and judges differ as to what is relevant and what is not relevant to a particular case. Are inexperienced students and other young men likely to know without legal help what points are relevant to the merits of their cases? If owing to their ignorance the majority did not or could not write representations, or had their representations discarded as irrelevant it would be no wonder. We do not positively assert that such was the case, but we only suggest a probability. More-

over, it has been taken for granted that all *detenus*, state prisoners, &c., had been actually informed that they could exercise the right of making representations. We do not know what steps the committee took to be quite sure on this point. We may be considered too distrustful; but where the liberty of so many men was concerned and when they were not to have a regular and open trial, it was necessary to make *absolutely* sure that (i) every one of them knew that they could make representations, and that (ii) every representation made had reached the committee. The committee simply observe that "The representations, *appear* to have reached us in their original condition" (*italics ours*), but did they make sure that *all* the representations had reached them? We think it would not have been superfluous labour or unnecessary zeal on their part if they had made personal enquiries of the *detenus* and state prisoners on these points.

We do not find it mentioned anywhere in the memorandum that "seditious letters, books, papers," &c., "seized by the police during searches or while apprehending offenders for revolutionary crime" were proved by the evidence of search witnesses to have been actually so seized. But it is really useless to make such a remark. There was no evidence except the untested evidence produced by the police: and therefore though one ex-judge of a High Court and another High Court judge made the inquiry, it cannot be given the weight of a judicial inquiry. In explaining why they did not require the presence of any of the parties concerned, the committee say: "(1) Our committee is in the nature of an appellate or revising authority, which does not usually require the presence of a convicted party in revising his case." That implies that the offenders had had the opportunity of being present before a judge in a law-court in an original trial. But as that is not the case, we cannot but treat this as an unsound argument. In the next place they say:

(2) Even then, we might have exercised our discretion by requiring the presence of a party had we in any case found it necessary in the interests of the party himself. But in no case did such necessity, in our opinion, arise. We did not think that hearing his defence from his own mouth would have placed a party in a better position than a written defence prepared by him after full deliberation and submitted to us for consideration. Such written defence we invited. From our judicial experience we have found



that if an accused person is not defended by Counsel, he, generally speaking, spoils his case when he conducts his own defence or in answer to questions from the trying Judge either gives irrelevant answers, or makes vague protests of innocence, or makes unwittingly admissions against himself, or by his demeanour in answering questions prejudices his defence by producing an unfavourable impression on the mind of the Judge. That risk to the parties whose cases we have examined was almost certain, seeing that from 70 to 80 per cent. of them are inexperienced and young students. (3) The exceptional conditions of revolutionary crime and the special procedure of judicial investigation necessitated by those conditions (with which we deal in the concluding part of this memorandum) have also weighed with us in not calling the parties before us. The Sedition Committee, 1918, have pointed out in their Report that several of those, who have made long and detailed confessions to the police and thrown light on revolutionary organisations and crime and enable Government to track their course successfully stage by stage, have made those confessions on "a well-understood though often unexpressed condition," that their names will not be divulged, and that scrupulous care will be taken to save them from exposure "to the vengeance of their associates" (page 21 of the Report). We have satisfied ourselves that those persons are unwilling to appear before any judicial or quasi-judicial tribunal, however constituted, whether sitting in open court or "in camera," and make any statement or answer any questions. Under those circumstances, to differentiate between them and others would have been dangerous.

When an ex-judge and a judge bring forward their experience in defence of a certain line of action, we laymen can say nothing. We may simply appeal to the experience of other judges. But there is no such record of experience before us. Still we venture to think that the committee's observation may not be of universal or very general application. And seeing that they have judged 800 out of 806 men guilty, why could they not give these guilty 800 a chance of appearing before them? Even if all had spoilt their cases, they would still have been nothing worse than guilty; and it is possible that a few might have improved their cases.

We have already pointed out some probable reasons why inexperienced young men might not have been able to write out relevant defences, or any defences at all. The committee have unconsciously suggested another. If an undefended accused person spoils his case by giving oral evidence, it is probable that he would spoil it, though possibly to a less extent, by a written defence, too. It is not an easy thing to make out a relevant, clear and convincing case, as all controversialists know. And as for "full deliberation", are the committee sure that the accused

were given the time and the opportunity for such "full deliberation"? We printed the following in our last number from the *Express*, in which paper we have not yet found it contradicted:

The Advisory Committee is now sitting to consider the cases of the political detainees and the procedure that is being followed is this: The accused is supplied with a copy of the charges at the Thana in the presence of a police officer and he is required to answer them in writing within a short time as best as he could. He is enjoined not to consult anybody nor to keep any copy of the charges. Now may we ask how is it possible for him to answer satisfactorily the charges which the Police had taken care to formulate against them at a moment's notice in the presence of a police officer without consulting any of his friends, relatives or guardians, much less any legal adviser, and without being apprised of the evidence which have been accumulated against him.

It may or may not be that our contemporary wrote with reference to what was being done in Bihar, but as it cannot be contended that the Bengal police are angels and the Bihar police not, what is possible in Bihar is possible in Bengal, too.

It may not have been possible to call the parties before the committee; but the committee might have visited them. We are loth to believe that if the committee had not called those who had confessed under a promise of secrecy, and had called only the others, the Government would have been powerless to keep it a secret that any such distinction had been made.

We do not know whether the committee considered the feasibility of allowing the accused persons to produce rebutting evidence from the lips of witnesses for the defence. The committee were not precluded from doing this by the procedure laid down. And the revolutionaries would certainly not have terrorised or murdered such witnesses for the defence.

Laymen though we are, we cannot entirely accept "the radical difference between the nature and conditions of ordinary crime on the one hand, and of revolutionary crime on the other" pointed out by the committee. The committee say:

X. Ordinary crime, by which we mean crime which is committed for private purposes and not with the object of upsetting the Government and striking at its very foundations and authority, is individual in its nature, that is to say, when a person is arrested for such crime and tried in a Criminal Court, there is an end of the case, whether he is convicted or acquitted. A confession, therefore, whether made to the police or to a Magistrate before trial or to the trying Court, is in operation and



serves its purpose only until the case is tried and disposed of.

Confessions connected with organised crime, such as Thuggy, gang robbery, kidnapping girls for immoral purposes, kidnapping girls for selling them as brides to persons of castes who find difficulties in getting wives, &c., do not, we presume, exhaust themselves when the trial of a particular case ends.

The committee proceed to observe :

If an individual member of the revolutionary organisation is arrested and dealt with by the State, the revolutionary crime does not end, it goes on, and where a person arrested confesses the crime, the confession is useful to Government only if it becomes a starting point to the police for fresh investigation of the crime, continuous as it is.

Why is a confession useful to Government "only" if it becomes a starting point to the police for fresh investigation of the crime? Is it not useful if the confession leads merely to the conviction of the accused? Of course, if it becomes a starting point for fresh investigation, it is still more useful.

Again :

Every such confession, so far from exhausting its activity with the arrest and disposal, according to law, of the person making it, continues subject to the sifting process of truth for a long period. The temptation, therefore, to which a Police officer is exposed, of extorting confessions, true or false, in the case of ordinary crime is very much less in the case of revolutionary crime. The risk which the police run of certain exposure is greater in the latter than in the former.

We cannot subscribe to this opinion. Whatever may be the case when revolutionaries are tried regularly and openly, in the case of the persons whose confessions or alleged confessions came before the committee, there was not the least fear of exposure. It is mostly by the cross-examination of counsel and the evidence of defence witnesses that extorted confessions, forgery, perjury and concocted evidence are exposed. There was no such fear in the case of the present inquiry. Moreover, is it impossible for the police to extort confessions in harmony with their theories or with previous confessions, or to suppress those confessions or parts of confessions which are contradictory of previous confessions, and to place before a committee or a secret tribunal only a well-cooked and congruent series of confessions? Is it impossible for the police to obtain a confession after the occurrence of an incident or the finding of materials

like arms, &c., and to antedate a confession obtained afterwards? Even in the scriptures of many nations, fraud of this description has been perpetrated, and accounts written long after events have been palmed off as prophecies.

And suppose there is "certain exposure," what is the "risk" the police run? In the Mussalmanpara bomb case, the High Court Bench said distinctly in their judgment that the police had been guilty of forgery, and a committee appointed by Government said the same thing only taking care to whitewash the superior officers. Now, this was an exposure. But was any policeman dismissed or prosecuted for forgery? During the administration of Sir Andrew Fraser, there was an attempt to wreck a B. N. R. train in the Midnapore district. Some coolies were tried and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Afterwards in a trial of revolutionaries, it came out that the attempt to wreck the train was not the work of the coolies but the work of some of these revolutionaries. We do not now remember whether the coolies were released, but, unless our memory plays us false, we are sure no police officer was dismissed or prosecuted for getting the coolies wrongly convicted. There have been many cases in which men have been sentenced to death by a district sessions court on evidence concocted by the police, but in which they were released on appeal by the High Court; but we never hear of any policeman being punished in consequence.

In paragraph XII the committee say :

XII. In the case, therefore, of confessions made to Police officers, by persons arrested on the charge of revolutionary crime, the question of their admissibility in evidence and of the weight to be attached to them, when admitted, must depend not on whether those confessions were extorted either by torture, or inducement or other like means, but on whether the confessions are true, such confessions, by the very nature and conditions of revolutionary crime, continuously—so long as the revolutionary crime is continuous—undergoing certain tests as to their truth.

This goes dangerously near suggesting an indirect defence of obtaining confessions by torture, &c.; it certainly is calculated to induce the disposition to connive at torture, provided it serves a useful purpose. The tests which follow the passage quoted above, may or may not be all right, but we emphatically say that torture should not be connived at under any circumstance



or for any purpose whatever, be it even the safety of the state, or any other high-sounding thing. Once torture is lightly spoken of, those among policemen who are not men of high principle may be encouraged to torture accused persons and take the chance of discovering the truth.

In their 17th paragraph the committee refer to a class of "Persons arrested while in possession of arms or ammunition or other incriminating materials and articles of revolutionary crime. These persons under the circumstances of the arrest carry their own evidence against themselves." But the question is, was there any properly tested independent evidence of these incriminating things having been actually found in the possession of these persons when they were arrested? In the trial of a few cases, we have read of incriminating things being placed in the houses of or in proximity to the accused by God knows whom. If we remember aright, in the Musalmanpara bomb case and in the case of the murder of Inspector Nripendra Ghose, the persons arrested were said to have been found in possession of fire-arms. But in neither case could the police prove their case and obtain conviction.

This note has already become long, and as laymen we feel the disadvantage of our position in having to criticise a document whose value depends so much on the soundness or unsoundness of the legal and judicial principles enunciated therein. What we have said, we have said from a sense of public duty. The committee's main task was not to ascertain the existence or otherwise of a revolutionary organisation, but to pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of the individuals whose cases had been placed before them. We may be wrong, but the committee's finding that 800 of the accused are guilty has failed to produce clear conviction in our mind.

Whatever our doubts may be, it is satisfactory to read the following :—

**NIX.** We have in every case declined to act on circumstances of mere suspicion, by which we mean absence of positive proof of guilt and the mere presence of circumstances of an equivocal character not necessarily leading to a presumption of crime. For instance, mere association with proved revolutionaries, or mere residence in a mess consisting of revolutionaries and others or mere seditious talk of an irresponsible character in company, without more of an incriminating nature, has been treated by us as insufficient

for action, whether under Regulation III of 1818 or the Defence of India Act or the Ingress Ordinance.

The committee observe :—

Before the Defence of India Act was brought into force, the fair trial of a person accused of revolutionary crime had been rendered practically impossible by the murders of approvers, witnesses, Police officers and law-abiding citizens suspected by revolutionaries of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime.

That the trial of revolutionaries was difficult we admit. But we also know that before the Defence of India Act had made it easy for the police to arrest innocent and guilty alike, there were many successful trials of revolutionaries and conspirators. There were several big conspiracy cases.

We find the following in the memorandum :—

Revolutionaries, who having received wounds in dacoities were unable to escape, were shot dead by their associates in the dacoities for fear that if left alive they might confess and disclose the secrets of revolutionary organisations.

But this is not a peculiarity of revolutionaries. Ordinary dacoits have been heard to do the same thing occasionally. Only they are said to go a step further, and decapitate and carry away the heads of their wounded comrades to prevent both identification and confession. But this was not considered a ground for changing judicial procedure.

### Rammohun Roy Anniversary.

Rammohun Roy, the anniversary of whose death in Bristol 85 years ago was celebrated in all provinces of India on the 27 September, was a man much in advance of his times. Nay, he was in many respects in advance of our age, too. He was a man of universal outlook. Believing in the unity of the human race, he believed that human welfare meant the welfare of men of all countries, races and sects. He rejoiced wherever the cause of human progress triumphed and grieved wherever there was a set-back in the tide of progress. Human and national progress did not to him mean progress only in politics, or in social institutions, or in material prosperity. He knew that progress in any direction was dependent on progress in all others. Hence, we find that he was the pioneer of all the most essential and important movements for the regeneration of India. This was not due to any belief in a mechanical theory of harmoni-



ous development in all directions. It was his religious faith, his true spiritual insight, which made him fight with whatever was unjust, false, degrading, or obstructive of progress, wherever he found it. In his own personality he unified the cultures of the East and the West, and thus pre-figured the coming inter-action of all cultural influences, whatever their origin, throughout the world. Similarly, he was the meeting-place of Hindu and Semitic cultures and civilisations. In his personality there was no conflict between Hindu and Moslem and Christian. He had found that within himself and in the ancient spiritual wisdom of India which enabled him to realise the unity underlying the diverse systems of faith prevailing in the world.

Though the anniversary of his death is celebrated in some place or other, every year in all provinces, it cannot be said that we have yet been able to appreciate and honour him as he ought to be. One reason is that he never played to the gallery. While there has never yet been another Indian who has more deeply realised what is really the essence of the ancient spiritual teachings of India, he was never afraid of pointing out what was false or degrading in our popular religion, customs or scriptures. Like all truth-tellers he has to fight his way to acceptance. Though the present may seem to belong to men much smaller than he, there is not the least doubt that the future belongs to him.

### Riots in Calcutta.

There is a large rowdy element in Calcutta ready to take advantage of any popular excitement to gratify their desire for plunder. These low class people took advantage of the excitement among Musalmans, resulting from the prohibition by the Bengal Government of a large Moslem meeting which had been arranged to be held, and made Calcutta the scene of probably the worst riots within living memory. Much blood-shed has been caused, and many shops have been looted. Cloth-shops owned by Marwaries suffered most, which was natural owing to the high prices of cloth. Such riots leave their legacy of racial and sectarian hatred behind, which is not the least of their harmful consequences.

All these evil results could have been

prevented if Lord Ronaldshay had allowed the Musalmans to hold their meeting under proper safeguards and guarantees. But he prohibited the holding of the meeting instead. The meeting was prohibited on the ground that its holding would create excitement and might lead to a breach of the peace. But it was the prohibition of the meeting which produced exactly these undesirable results.

Government knew that the Musalmans were not satisfied with the order of prohibition and that there was widespread excitement. Yet there was no adequate preparedness for emergencies on the part of the police. Some precautions had been taken, but they proved utterly inadequate to prevent a state of temporary anarchy. It has been stated in the papers that men were done to death and shops plundered within sight of the police.

It has been an argument, used by our European opponents, against Indian self-rule that Indians if placed in authority would not be able to prevent riots. But are the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy able to prevent riots and disorder? Their advocates say, that but for them, things might have been worse. That is a very nice argument, because "what might have been" is unknown and unknowable and therefore irrefutable.

In the recent riots, according to the daily papers, the Marwaris lost most in property and the Musalmans in lives. This has furnished an occasion for some Anglo-Indian papers to observe with ill-concealed glee that the Hindu-Moslem *rapprochement* was a farce. The wish may have been father to the discovery. *The Empire*, dated 11th September, for instance, said :—

"The commentary once again made by the disturbances on the weird and wonderful amity supposed, according to Congress-Leagues, to bind Hindu and Moslem together into a nation is too obvious, too significant to need labouring here."

Similar comments were made in several Anglo-Indian papers after the Arrah riots. Even if Hindus and Musalmans of all classes fight, no man professing to be civilised and a follower of the prince of peace, should be pleased at such occurrences. It would be a great calamity to India if men who are so pleased were ever to be placed in authority: for they might not scruple to foment sectarian riots to gratify their malevolence.



This note was in type before the publication of the Government resolution on the subject.

### Food Riots in Madras.

The food riots in Madras are a commentary on the pretensions to infallible statesmanship and perfect efficiency of the administrators of India. We know in August last there were bigger and more destructive riots in Japan in consequence of the high prices of rice; and food riots are not unknown in other civilised countries, too. We do not, therefore, say that the British rulers of India are a set of very incapable men. What we do say is that their achievements are not in keeping with the unique reputation which they and their advocates have manufactured for them. But this is a comparatively unimportant matter. What is of vital importance is the relief of distress. Sir George Lowndes and others like him may dream of India's prosperity; but the real India is a hungry and half-naked India. May we not grow callous at the constant sight of misery!

### The Floods in Northern Bengal.

The floods in northern Bengal have caused intense and widespread sufferings, which are not less than those caused by the Damodar floods a few years ago. But the relief given to the sufferers has not yet been on a scale comparable with that given to the people of the areas flooded by the Damodar. Probably, the majority of our people having been affected by the high prices of necessities, they have not been able to render adequate help. There is perhaps also another fact to be taken into consideration. The policy of repression may have made public-spirited men hesitate to do philanthropic work, like the collection of subscriptions and the distribution of relief; for as the revolutionaries are said to have made philanthropy a part of their recruitment methods, those who render social service may, it is feared, be objects of official suspicion. But we should not be deterred from doing our duty by fear of such suspicion.

### Early Release of Indentured Indians in Fiji.

We are glad Government have accepted

the following resolution moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :

'This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State for India to negotiate with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerning the early release of Indian labourers in Fiji whose indentures have not yet expired.'

The original resolution moved by the Pandit did not contain the words "in Fiji"; he wanted all the indentured laborers in all the Crown Colonies to be released. But that was not acceptable to Government. So we must be satisfied with what we have got, which is certainly far better than the total rejection of the resolution.

In the course of his speech the Pandit rightly spoke of the philanthropic labours of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson in the following terms :—

"I should like to say here, Sir, that I doubt if we fully realise how much we owe to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson for their self-sacrificing mission to Fiji in 1915, and for the continued interest and repeated mission of Mr. Andrews last year to that island. I do not think that the enormity of the evils of the system of indentured labour would have been so fully realised by us but for the humane efforts of these two gentlemen."

The country owes a deep debt of gratitude to them.

In the speech of Sir George Barnes we find an account of what Government have done and intend to do in the matter. We thank them for the part of their duty which they have done. But by implication Sir George Barnes seems to monopolise all the credit for Government. There is not one word of appreciation or recognition of what the public have done to arouse interest in the matter, nor a word of praise for what public-spirited individuals have done. A reader unacquainted with the facts might even suppose that it was the Government of India who had made the Australians take interest in the welfare of Fiji Indians. This is neither a grievance nor a complaint. We write only to draw attention to the amusing ways of the bureaucracy. An instance occurs in the *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*. Paragraph 17 of that *Report* concludes with the following sentence: "The Government with public opinion behind them abolished indentured labour." This may even convey the idea that the Government had been always only too anxious to



abolish indentured labour, but could not do so because of an obstructive or callous public opinion! So indentured labour was abolished as soon as the support of public opinion could be secured.

But the fact is it was the pressure of public opinion which made the Government abolish indentured labour. But we may be doing injustice to the framers of the *Report*. The sentence quoted may mean that public opinion had been pushing the Government from behind and goading it on.

Sir George's speech is perhaps inaccurate in a few passages. For instance, he says that most of the State-aided schools are now open to the children of Indian emigrants in Fiji. This is not correct. Again, he speaks of Badri Maharaj as having been "elected" to the Fiji council. He is not an elected member.

We are glad to read the following in Sir George's speech :—

"With regard to the cancellation of indentures, my Hon'ble friend knows that the Planters in Fiji, and I think in the other Crown Colonies also, are so anxious to get more Indian labour for the sugar plantations that they offered to cancel all existing indentures if the Government of India were willing to accept the scheme of assisted emigration, which was put forward at the London Conference. This scheme, it must be freely acknowledged, was an immense improvement on the old indentured system, but the Government has never accepted it, because they believed that it was not acceptable to public opinion in India, and I imagine that the Hon'ble Pandit does not suggest that the scheme ought to be accepted in order to secure the cancellation of the outstanding indentures.

### Rowlatt Committee's Report in the Viceroy's Council.

Mr. Khaparde had proposed in the Imperial Legislative Council that the consideration and disposal of the Rowlatt Committee's report be kept in abeyance and that a thorough and searching enquiry be undertaken by a mixed committee of an equal number of official and non-official Indians into the working of the C. I. D. Only one other member besides himself voted for his resolution. Whatever the reasons, it is much to be regretted that the rejection of the resolution made all the other elected members appear by implication to support the view that it was of the greatest urgency to consider and dispose of that report without delay. Such an impression would no doubt be corrected by a reading of the

speeches of the members on the resolution. But how many would do it? At present and for six months after the conclusion of the war, Government have very effective weapons in their hands to deal with revolutionaries and suspects; when six months would pass after the conclusion of peace, there would still remain Regulation III of 1818 and other similar regulations to enable Government to confine suspects without bringing them to trial. So, if as soon as peace was within sight Government began to consider the report and, if thought proper, drafted a bill in accordance with its recommendations, the executive and the police would not be without effective weapons in their hands to maintain peace and order.

What the rulers of India ought to consider is that permanent legislation in accordance with the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations would spoil the effect produced by the reforms proposed by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. And, as we have shown, there is no immediate need for such legislation. So Government should wait. Besides, they would be better able to carry the country with them should they succeed in persuading the reformed councils to consent to such legislation. In our opinion such legislation is not only not needed but would be harmful.

It would be a advantage for the reformed councils to begin their work with the burden of a permanent repressive law weighing on the public mind. They should be allowed to begin their work under better auspices. Let it not be said that the new regime would be one of repression *cum* reform, and that the bureaucracy, who have already insistently demanded that they should have autocratic powers for maintaining peace and order, were enabled betimes to enact laws which struck at one of the main pillars of popular government, *viz.*, personal liberty.

### The Viceroy's Opening Speech.

We wish to make a few remarks on a few points in the speech which the Viceroy delivered at the opening meeting of the autumn session of his council. He said :—

"At the outset of my tenure of office I warned those who were insistent on political reform that the British temperament was averse from catastrophic change. This expression of opinion was the subject



of criticism, and the Russian revolution which took place shortly afterwards was seized upon as a text on which to base claims to sweeping changes. I think those who sang a paean over the Russian events have since repented. Russia indeed has pointed a moral which it would do us all good to take to heart."

The Viceroy spoke of the British temperament as being averse to catastrophic changes, in the reply which he gave to the Indian Association's address in Calcutta in December 1916. Our comments on the same will be found on p. 119 of the *Modern Review* for January, 1917, and pp. 180-185 of "Towards Home Rule," part III. These need not be repeated here.

Regarding the Russian parallel we wish to say this. The parallel is no parallel at all. The people of Russia overthrew their former government, the autocracy of the Czar. We do not want to overthrow British rule or cut off our connection with the British Empire. In India the changes we want are simply connected with the internal administration of the country. All our schemes of reform have kept the army and foreign relations entirely in the hands of the executive government, besides providing ample safeguards for the maintenance of peace and order. For a long time to come European officers would continue to hold the great majority of the higher posts. Even if it were decided that henceforth all fresh appointments to the Indian Civil Service should be held by Indians, which is not at all probable, it would take some 40 to 50 years to Indianise the whole service at the present rates of recruitment; and that would not be a catastrophic change. But Indianisation would actually occupy a much longer time even if the 50 per cent. of the new recruits demanded by some of our public bodies were conceded.

We wish further to say this. Mr. Lloyd George, the prime minister of the British Empire, who is not an impatient Indian agitator, spoke as follows in the House of Commons after the Russian revolution had become an accomplished fact:

The Imperial Government was confident that the Russian people would find liberty was compatible with order even in revolutionary times, and that a free people were the best defenders of their own honour." (Italics ours).

The Premier added:

"The Imperial Government is confident that the

events, marking the world epoch and the first great triumph of the principles for which we entered the War, will not result in confusion or slackening in the conduct of the war, but in a closer and more effective co-operation between the Russian people and the Allies in the cause of human freedom." (Italics ours.)

Mr. Lloyd George's well-known speech before the American Luncheon Club contains the following passage:—

"There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. (Cheers.).

These passages show that the British Prime Minister was among the loudest of "those who sang a paean over the Russian events." If any Indians also sang a paean, they were in experienced company. They alone cannot be blamed. Besides, when, if ever, the true history of the Russian debacle is written, it will be seen how much of the anarchy is due to German intrigue and the absence of adequate guidance, moral support and help from the Allies.

The Viceroy and his colleagues and subordinates may be bound by the announcement of August 20, 1917. But we do not see why we should be bound by it. The British Parliament, the Secretary of State for India, and the British Government at "home," are not *our* representatives. We are subject to and obey laws not made by us or our representatives, but by others. Are our wishes and aspirations also to be subject to the limits sought to be imposed on them by those who are in no sense our representatives?

It cannot be admitted that if people do not criticise an Announcement in Parliament or in the Indian Legislative Council or in the public press or on the public platform, as soon as it is made, they lose their right of criticism for ever. They may take time to consider; they may wait to see in what definite steps or measures the announcement materialises. As for ourselves, we did criticise it in the *M. R.* for September, 1917, pp. 360-2, and also in the *M. R.* for August, 1918, pp. 200-2.

The Viceroy says: "Those who criticise our Report are on sure ground if they can show that our proposals are not in consonance with it." Well, this has been shown in some papers, though the Viceroy



may not have noticed them. In our last August number, we have shown that the expression "responsible government in India" does not necessarily exclude from the contents of its meaning "responsible government in India-as-a-whole." (*Vide M. R.*, Aug., 1918, pp. 201-2.)

The Viceroy laid great stress on a sentence in para. 289 of the *Report*: "We have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go." That may be true. But he has shown that these principles follow necessarily from the Announcement, and that the Announcement forbids the crossing of that line. That is the only relevant consideration. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State may have many private principles which may not be binding on others. Those who consider the Announcement authoritative would expect the Viceroy to prove that the principles which have guided him and Mr. Montagu in the *Report* were the lexicographical and logical outcome of the Announcement.

We will notice one more sentence in his speech. It runs thus: "Surely no one can say that this scheme does not involve a large increase in the influence of the representatives upon the actions of the Government of India." Yes; but the Viceroy forgets that the people have rightly ceased to be satisfied with mere influence; they want power. And power particularly in the governance of India-as-a-whole, because it is the Government of India which is concerned with the most important and vital affairs of the State.

### The Liberal Mr. Montagu.

The *Bombay Chronicle* quotes the following passage (from the *British Medical Journal*) from Mr. Montagu's reply to the deputation which urged before him that the prospects of the Indian Medical Service should in future be made more "attractive":—

"Just as India cannot to-day or so far as anybody can see—I was going to say for ever—do without the services of those who help to govern her, so

India cannot command the services of those who help to govern her unless the Europeans who carry the burden of Empire in India can be supplied with expert medical aid."

What a great compliment to Indians! They will "for ever" require the services of rulers from England to govern them! And these rulers, again, will not agree to do us the favour of governing us, unless we get for them medical experts from England at high salaries, which Mr. Montagu half-promised to increase still further!

The hypocrisies of the political vocabulary are both amusing and sickening. Where an honest plain man would say, "I like the salary and I like the power and the privileges, with the salaams thrown in," the political vocabulary supplies him with some ready-made phrases, upon which he eagerly seizes and says he goes abroad to bear the burden of Empire upon his back. Pity the over-burdened poor fellow, but do not relieve him, O ye kind-hearted men of the Indian Moderate camp and Home Rule camp!

### "A League of Free Nations."

On the 12th September last the Freedom of the City of Manchester was conferred upon Mr. Lloyd George. Acknowledging the honour, the Premier made a speech, in the course of which he said: "The British Empire was a League of free nations." Yes;—except India, which really makes the British Empire an *empire* instead of a crowned republic. The full title of King George V is "His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." An empire, we presume, is that over which an emperor reigns. But His Majesty George V. is emperor only in India; therefore Britain's empire strictly speaking lies only in India. And India is not yet free. Therefore, it is proved that the British Empire is a League of free nations.



## THE RENDEZVOUS

Blow as you will, O winter wind,  
 Blow lustily across the world,  
 Release the madness of your mind,  
 Let winter's triumph be unfurled ;  
 No pang to my warm heart you bring—  
 I have a rendezvous with spring !

I have a rendezvous with spring—  
 My way is an old road of fears ;  
 Past surly watch dog muttering  
 Of prowling winds, and the sharp spears  
 Of conquering legions of the frost,  
 Past gaunt old forests anguish-tost.  
 I wander on amid a crowd  
 Of muffled people shivering ;  
 I long to shout the words aloud :  
 "I have a rendezvous with spring !"   
 I long to cry, let winds employ  
 Their deadliest artillery ;  
 My soul is citadelled with joy,  
 My heart is warm with memory ;  
 This cold illusion I will fling  
 Aside and meet the promised spring !"

Oh do you know a climbing hill  
 That wears the dawn upon its crest ?  
 There, when the blustering winds are still,  
 I'll find fulfilment of my quest.  
 Upon the slopes a sisterhood  
 Of maples in dark robes arrayed  
 Keep sanctuary for the brood  
 Of summer pilgrims hither strayed ;  
 A spring from its unfathomed breast  
 Pours silver, as from heaven's height,  
 The midnight moon sends without rest.  
 Its fountain of untarnished light ;  
 A river washes at its feet,—  
 'Tis there that spring and I will meet.

'Tis there that spring and I will meet,  
 It is, it is her chosen throne ;  
 And never think she finds it sweet  
 To sit amid her wealth alone.  
 Beneath a fluttering hillside tree,  
 She graciously awaits her king :  
 Why should the winter trouble me ?—  
 I have a rendezvous with spring !

MAYCE SEYMOUR.